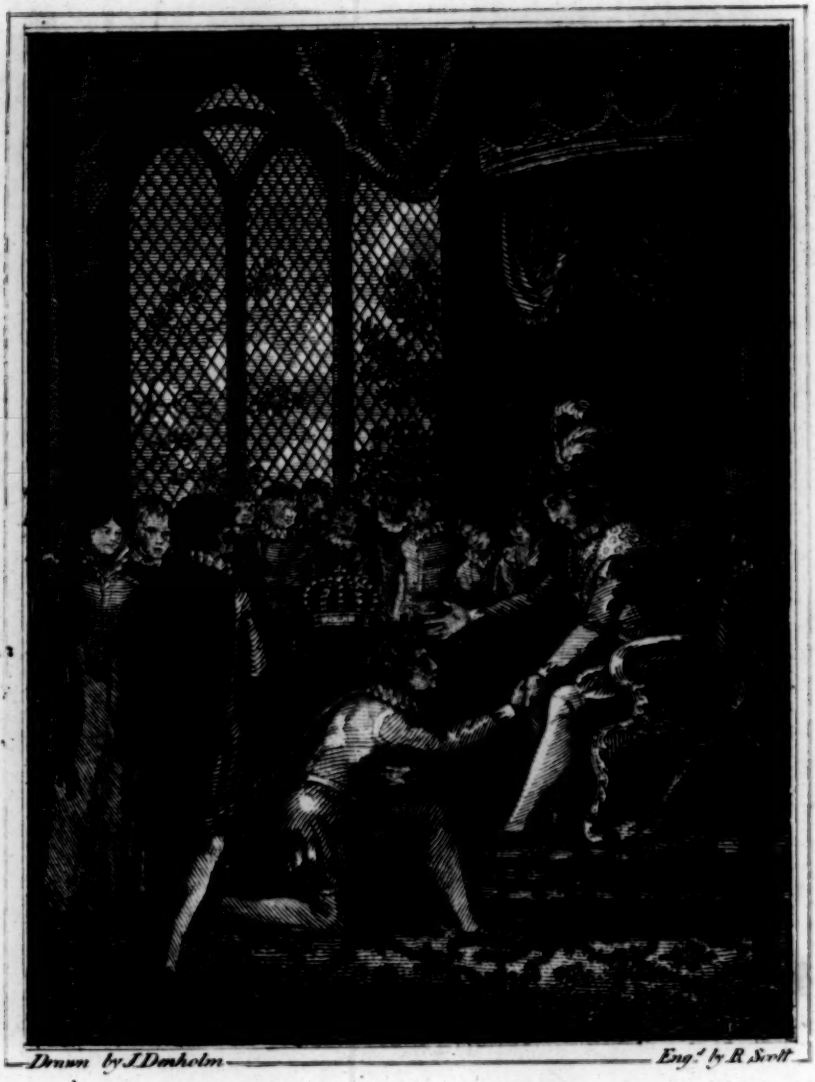
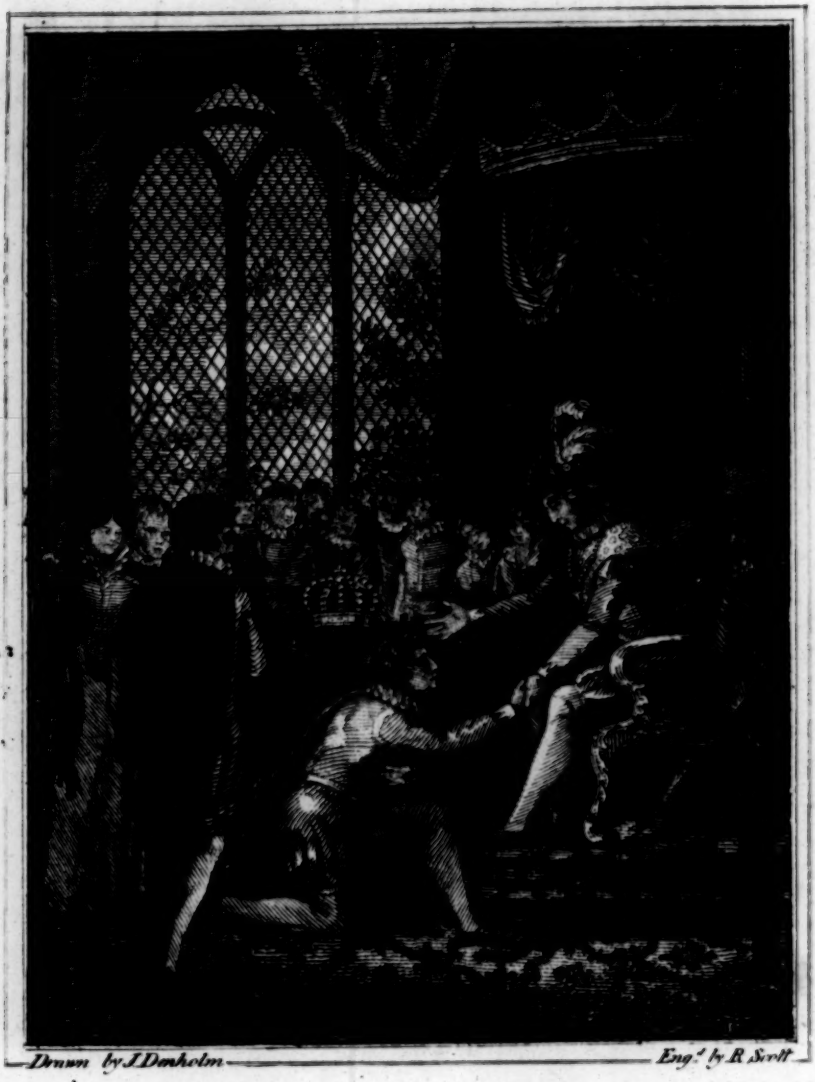


Drawn by J. Denholm — Engd by R. Scott

The Resignation of the Crown of Spain by
The Emperor Charles Vth to his Son Philip II

Engraved for Chapman and Lang's Edition of Robertson's Charles 5th 1800.



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THE

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

WITH A VIEW OF THE

Progress of Society in Europe,

FROM THE

SUBVERSION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK X.

WHILE Charles laboured, with ſuch unwearied induſtry, to perſuade or to force the proteſtants to adopt his regulations with reſpect to religion, the effects of his ſteadineſs in the execution of his plan were rendered leſs conſiderable by his rupture with the pope, which daily increaſed. The firm reſolution which the emperor ſeemed to have taken againſt reſtoring Placentia, together with his repeated encroachments on the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, not only by the regulations contained in the Interim, but by his attempt to re-aſſemble the council at Trent, exaſperated Paul to the utmoſt, who, with the weakneſs incident to old age, grew more attached to his family, and more jealous of his authority, as he advanced in years. Puſhed on by theſe paſſions, he made new efforts to draw the French king into an alliance againſt the emperor*: but finding that monarch, notwithſtanding the hereditary enmity between him and Charles, and the jealouſy with which he viewed the ſucceſsful progreſs of the Imperial arms, as unwilling as formerly to involve himſelf in immediate hoſtilities, he was obliged to contract his views, and to think of preventing future encroachments, ſince it was not in his power to inflict vengeance on account of thoſe which were paſt. For this pur-

* Mem. de Ribier, ii. 230.

poſe, he determined to recal his grant of Parma and Placentia, and after declaring them to be re-annexed to the holy ſee, to indemnify his grandſon Octavio by a new eſtabliſhment in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. By this expedient he hoped to gain two points of no ſmall conſequence. He, firſt of all, rendered his poſſeſſion of Parma more ſecure; as the emperor would be more cautious of invading the patrimony of the church, though he might ſeize without ſcruple a town belonging to the houſe of Farneſe. In the next place, he would acquire a better chance of recovering Placentia, as his ſolicitations to that effect might decently be urged with greater importunity, and would infallibly be attended with greater effect, when he was conſidered not as pleading the cauſe of his own family, but as an advocate for the intereſt of the holy ſee. But while Paul was priding himſelf on this device, as a happy refinement in policy, Octavio, an ambitious and high-ſpirited young man, who could not bear with patience to be ſpoiled of one half of his territories by the rapaciouſneſs of his father-in-law, and to be deprived of the other by the artifices of his grandfather, took meaſures in order to prevent the execution of a plan fatal to his intereſt. He ſet out ſecretly from Rome, and having firſt endeavoured to ſurpriſe Parma, which attempt was fruſtrated by the fidelity of the governor to whom the pope had entruſted the defence of the town, he made overtures to the emperor, of renouncing all connexion with the pope, and of depending entirely on him for his future fortune. This unexpected defection of one of the pope's own family to an enemy whom he hated, irritated, almoſt to madneſs, a mind peeviſh with old age; and there was no degree of ſeverity to which Paul might not have proceeded againſt a grandſon whom he reproached as an unnatural apoſtate. But, happily for Octavio, death prevented his carrying into execution the harſh reſolutions which he had taken with reſpect to him, and put an end to his pontificate in the

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ſixteenth year of his adminiſtration, and the eighty ſecond year of his age *.

* Among many inſtances of the credulity or weakneſs of hiſtorians in attributing the death of illuſtrious perſonages to extraordinary cauſes, this is one. Almoſt all the hiſtorians of the ſixteenth century affirm, that the death of Paul III. was occaſioned by the violent paſſions which the behaviour of his grandſon excited; that being informed, while he was refreſhing himſelf in one of his gardens near Rome, of Octavio's attempt on Parma, as well as of his negotiations with the emperor by means of Gonzaga, he fainted away, continued ſome hours in a ſwoon, then became feveriſh, and died within three days. This is the account given of it by Thuanus, lib. vi 211. Adriani Iſtor. di ſuoi Tempi, lib. vii. 480, and by Father Paul, 280. Even cardinal Pallavicini, better informed than any writer with regard to the events which happened in the papal court, and when not warped by prejudice or ſyſtem, more accurate in relating them, agrees with their narrative in its chief circumſtances. Pallav. b. ii. 74. Paruta, who wrote his hiſtory by command of the ſenate of Venice, relates it in the ſame manner. Hiſtorici Venez. vol. iv. 212. But there was no occaſion to ſearch for any extraordinary cauſe to account for the death of an old man of eighty-two. There remains an authentic account of this event, in which we find none of thoſe marvellous circumſtances of which the hiſtorians are ſo fond. The cardinal of Ferrara, who was entruſted with the affairs of France at the court of Rome, and M. D'Urfé, Henry's ambaſſador in ordinary there, wrote an account to that monarch of the affair of Parma, and of the pope's death. By theſe it appears, that Octavio's attempt to ſurpriſe Parma, was made on the twentieth of October; that next day in the evening, and not while he was airing himſelf in the gardens of Monte Cavallo, the pope received intelligence of what he had done; that he was ſeized with ſuch a tranſport of paſſion, and cried ſo bitterly, that his voice was heard in ſeveral apartments of the palace; that next day, however, he was ſo well as to give an audience to the cardinal of Ferrara, and to go through buſineſs of different kinds; that Octavio wrote a letter to the pope, not to cardinal Farneſe his brother, intimating his reſolution of throwing himſelf into the arms of the emperor; that the pope received this on the twenty-firſt without any new ſymptoms of emotion, and returned an anſwer to it; that on the twenty-ſecond of October, the day on which the cardinal of Ferrara's letter is dated, the pope was in his uſual ſtate of health. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 247. By a letter of M. D'Urfé, Nov. 5. it appears that the pope was in ſuch good health, that on the third of that month he had celebrated the anniverſary of his coronation with the uſual ſolemnities. Ibidem, 251. By another letter from the ſame perſon, we learn, that on the ſixth of November a catarrh or defluxion fell down on the pope's lungs, with ſuch dangerous ſymptoms, that his life was

1550.] As this event had been long expected, there was an extraordinary concourſe of cardinals at Rome; and the various competitors having had time to form their parties, and to concert their meaſures, their ambition and intrigues protracted the conclave to a great length. The Imperial and French faction ſtrove, with emulation, to promote one of their own number, and had, by turns, the proſpect of ſucceſs. But as Paul, during a long pontificate had raiſed many to the purple, and thoſe chiefly perſons of eminent abilities, as well as zealouſly devoted to his family, cardinal Farneſe had the command of a powerful and united ſquadron, by whoſe addreſs and firmneſs he exalted to the papal throne the cardinal di Monte [Feb. 7], whom Paul had employed as his principal legate in the council of Trent, and truſted with his moſt ſecret intentions. He aſſumed the name of Julius III. and in order to expreſs his gratitude towards his benefactor, the firſt act of his adminiſtration was to put Octavio Farneſe in poſſeſſion of Parma. When the injury which he did to the holy ſee, by alienating a territory of ſuch value, was mentioned by ſome of the cardinals, he briſkly replied, "That he would rather be a poor pope, with the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one, with the infamy of having forgotten the obligations conferred upon him, and the promiſes which he had made†." But all the luſtre of this candour or generoſity he quickly effaced by an action moſt ſhockingly indecent. According to an ancient and eſtabliſhed practice, every pope upon his election conſiders it as his privilege to beſtow, on whom he pleaſes, the cardinal's hat, which falls to be diſpoſed of by his being inveſted with the triple crown. Julius, to the aſtoniſhment

immediately deſpaired of. Ibid. 252. And by a third letter we are informed, that he died November the tenth. In none of theſe letters is his death imputed to any extraordinary cauſe. It appears, that more than twenty days elapſed between Octavio's attempt on Parma and the death of his grandfather, and that the diſeaſe was the natural effect of old age, and not one of thoſe occaſioned by violence of paſſion.

† Mem de Ribier.

of the ſacred college, conferred this mark of diſtinction, together with ample eccleſiaſtical revenues, and the right of bearing his name and arms, upon one Innocent, a youth of ſixteen, born of obſcure parents, and known by the name of the Ape, from his having been truſted with the care of an animal of that ſpecies, in the cardinal di Monte's family. Such a proſtitution of the higheſt dignity in the church would have given offence, even in thoſe dark periods, when the credulous ſuperſtition of the people emboldened eccleſiaſtics to venture on the moſt flagrant violations of decorum. But in an enlightened age, when, by the progreſs of knowledge and philoſophy, the obligations of duty and decency were better underſtood, when a blind veneration for the pontifical character was every where abated, and one half of Chriſtendom in open rebellion againſt the papal ſee, this action was viewed with horror. Rome was immediately filled with libels and paſquinades, which imputed the pope's extravagant regard for ſuch an unworthy object to the moſt criminal paſſions. The proteſtants exclaimed againſt the abſurdity of ſuppoſing that the infallible ſpirit of divine truth could dwell in a breaſt ſo impure, and called more loudly than ever, and with greater appearance of juſtice, for the immediate and thorough reformation of a church, the head of which was a diſgrace to the Chriſtian name†. The reſt of the pope's conduct was of a piece with this firſt ſpecimen of his diſpoſitions. Having now reached the ſummit of eccleſiaſtical ambition, he ſeemed eager to indemnify himſelf, by an unreſtrained indulgence of his deſires, for the ſelf-denial or diſſimulation which he had thought it prudent to practiſe while in a ſubordinate ſtation. He became careleſs, to ſo great a degree, of all ſerious buſineſs, that he could ſeldom be brought to attend to it, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity; and giving up himſelf to amuſements and diſſipation of every kind, he imitated the luxurious elegance of

† Sleid. 492. F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 76. Thuan. lib. vi. 115.

Leo rather than the ſevere virtue of Adrian, the latter of which it was neceſſary to diſplay, in contending with a ſect which derived great credit from the rigid and auſtere manners of its teachers*.

The pope, however ready to fulfil his engagements to the family of Farneſe, diſcovered no inclination to obſerve the oath, which each cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that if the choice ſhould fall on him, he would immediately call the council to re-aſſume its deliberations. Julius knew, by experience, how difficult it was to confine ſuch a body of men within the narrow limits which it was the intereſt of the ſee of Rome to preſcribe; and how eaſily the zeal of ſome members, the raſhneſs of others, or the ſuggeſtions of the princes on whom they depended, might precipitate a popular and ungovernable aſſembly into forbidden inquiries, as well as dangerous deciſions. He wiſhed, for theſe reaſons, to have eluded the obligation of his oath, and gave an ambiguous anſwer to the firſt propoſals which were made to him by the emperor, with regard to that matter. But Charles, either from his natural obſtinacy in adhering to the meaſures which he had once adopted, or from the mere pride of accompliſhing what was held to be almoſt impoſſible, perſiſted in his reſolution of forcing the proteſtants to return into the boſom of the church. Having perſuaded himſelf, that the authoritative deciſions of the council might be employed with efficacy in combating their prejudices, he, in conſequence of that perſuaſion, continued to ſolicit earneſtly that a new bull of convocation might be iſſued; and the pope could not, with decency, reject that requeſt. When Julius found that he could not prevent the calling of a council, he endeavoured to take to himſelf all the merit of having procured the meeting of an aſſembly, which was the object of ſuch general deſire and expectation. A congregation of cardinals, to whom he referred the conſideration of what was neceſſary for reſtoring peace to the church, recom-

* F. Paul, 281.

mended, by his direction, the ſpeedy convocation of a council, as the moſt effectual expedient for that purpoſe; and as the new hereſies raged with the greateſt violence in Germany, they propoſed Trent as the place of its meeting, that, by a near inſpection of the evil, the remedy might be applied with greater diſcernment and certainty of ſucceſs. The pope warmly approved of this advice, which he himſelf had dictated, and ſent nuncios to the Imperial and French courts, in order to make known his intentions†.

About this time, the emperor had ſummoned a new diet to meet at Augſburg, in order to enforce the obſervation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentic act of the ſupreme court in the empire, acknowledging the juriſdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promiſe of conforming to its decrees. He appeared there in perſon, together with his ſon the prince of Spain [June 25]. Few electors were preſent, but all ſent deputies in their name. Charles, notwithſtanding the deſpotic authority with which he had given law in the empire during two years, knew that the ſpirit of independence among the Germans was not entirely ſubdued, and for that reaſon took care to over-awe the diet by a conſiderable body of Spaniſh troops which eſcorted him thither. The firſt point ſubmitted to the conſideration of the diet, was the neceſſity of holding a council. All the popiſh members agreed, without difficulty, that the meeting of that aſſembly ſhould be renewed at Trent, and promiſed an implicit acquieſcence in its decrees. The proteſtants, intimidated and diſunited, muſt have followed their example, and the reſolution of the diet would have proved unanimous, if Maurice of Saxony had not begun at this time to diſcloſe new intentions, and to act a part very different from that which he had ſo long aſſumed.

By an artful diſſimulation of his own ſentiments; by addreſs in paying court to the emperor; and by the ſeeming zeal with which he forwarded all his ambitious ſchemes,

† F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 77.

Maurice had raiſed himſelf to the electoral dignity; and having added the dominions of the elder branch of the Saxon family to his own, he was become the moſt powerful prince in Germany. But his long and intimate union with the emperor had afforded him many opportunities of obſerving narrowly the dangerous tendency of that monarch's ſchemes. He ſaw the yoke that was preparing for his country; and from the rapid as well as formidable progreſs of the Imperial power, was convinced that but a few ſteps more remained to be taken, in order to render Charles as abſolute a monarch in Germany as he had become in Spain. The more eminent the condition was to which he himſelf had been exalted, the more ſolicitous did Maurice naturally become to maintain all its rights and privileges, and the more did he dread the thoughts of deſcending from the rank of a prince almoſt independent, to that of a vaſſal ſubject to the commands of a maſter. At the ſame time he perceived that Charles was bent on exacting a rigid conformity to the doctrines and rites of the Romiſh church, inſtead of allowing liberty of conſcience, the promiſe of which had allured ſeveral proteſtant princes to aſſiſt him in the war againſt the confederates of Smalkalde. As he himſelf, notwithſtanding all the compliances which he had made from motives of intereſt, or an exceſs of confidence in the emperor, was ſincerely attached to the Lutheran tenets, he determined not to be a tame ſpectator of the overthrow of a ſyſtem which he believed to be founded in truth.

This reſolution, flowing from the love of liberty, or zeal for religion, was ſtrengthened by political and intereſted conſiderations. In that elevated ſtation in which Maurice was now placed, new and more extenſive proſpects opened to his view. His rank and power entitled him to be the head of the proteſtants in the empire. His predeceſſor, the degraded elector, with inferior abilities, and territories leſs conſiderable, had acquired ſuch an aſcendant over the councils of the party; and Maurice neither wanted diſcernment to

ſee the advantage of this pre-eminence, nor ambition to aim at attaining it. But he found himſelf in a ſituation which rendered the attempt no leſs difficult, than the object of it was important. On the one hand, the connection which he had formed with the emperor was ſo intimate, that he could ſcarcely hope to take any ſtep which tended to diſſolve it, without alarming his jealouſy, and drawing on himſelf the whole weight of that power, which had cruſhed the greateſt confederacy ever formed in Germany. On the other hand the calamities which he had brought on the proteſtant party were ſo recent, as well as great, that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to regain their confidence, or to rally and re-animate a body, after he himſelf had been the chief inſtrument in breaking its union and vigour. Theſe conſiderations were ſufficient to have diſcouraged any perſon of a ſpirit leſs adventurous than Maurice's. But to him the grandeur and difficulty of the enterpriſe were allurements; and he boldly reſolved on meaſures, the idea of which a genius of an inferior order could not have conceived, or would have trembled at the thoughts of the danger that attended the execution of them.

His paſſions concurred with his intereſt in confirming this reſolution; and the reſentment excited by an injury, which he ſenſibly felt, added new force to the motives for oppoſing the emperor, which ſound policy ſuggeſted. Maurice, by his authority, had prevailed on the landgrave of Heſſe to put his perſon in the emperor's power, and had obtained a promiſe from the Imperial miniſters that he ſhould not be detained a priſoner. This had been violated in the manner already related. The unhappy landgrave exclaimed as loudly againſt his ſon-in-law as againſt Charles. The princes of Heſſe required Maurice inceſſantly to fulfil his engagements to their father, who had loſt his liberty by truſting to him; and all Germany ſuſpected him of having betrayed, to an implacable enemy, the friend whom he was moſt bound to protect. Rouſed by theſe ſolicitations or reproaches, as

well as prompted by duty and affection to his father-in-law, Maurice had employed not only entreaties but remonſtrances in order to procure his releaſe. All theſe Charles had diſregarded; and the ſhame of having been firſt deceived, and then ſlighted, by a prince whom he had ſerved with zeal as well as ſucceſs, which merited a very different return, made ſuch a deep impreſſion on Maurice, that he waited with impatience for an opportunity of being revenged.

The utmoſt caution as well as the moſt delicate addreſs were requiſite in taking every ſtep towards this end; as he had to guard, on the one hand, againſt giving a premature alarm to the emperor; while, on the other, ſomething conſiderable and explicit was neceſſary to be done, in order to regain the confidence of the proteſtant party. Maurice had accordingly applied all his powers of art and diſſimulation to attain both theſe points. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with regard to the ſubmiſſion which he required to the Interim, he did not heſitate one moment whether he ſhould eſtabliſh that form of doctrine and worſhip in his dominions: but being ſenſible how odious it was to his ſubjects, inſtead of violently impoſing it on them by the mere terror of authority, as had been done in other parts of Germany, he endeavoured to render their obedience a voluntary deed of their own. For this purpoſe, he had aſſembled the clergy of his country at Leipſick, and had laid the Interim before them, together with the reaſons which made it neceſſary to conform to it. He had gained ſome of them by promiſes, others he had wrought upon by threats, and all were intimidated by the rigour with which obedience to the Interim was extorted in the neighbouring provinces. Even Melancthon, whoſe merit of every kind entitled him to the firſt place among the proteſtant divines, being now deprived of the manly counſels of Luther, which were wont to inſpire him with fortitude, and to preſerve him ſteady amidſt the ſtorms and dangers that threatened the church, was ſeduced into unwarrantable conceſſions, by the timidity of

his temper, his fond deſire of peace, and his exceſſive complaiſance towards perſons of high rank. By his arguments and authority, no leſs than by Maurice's addreſs, the aſſembly was prevailed on to declare, "that, in points which were purely indifferent, obedience was due to the commands of a lawful ſuperior." Founding upon this maxim, no leſs uncontrovertible in theory, than dangerous when carried into practice, eſpecially in religious matters, many of the proteſtant eccleſiaſtics whom Maurice conſulted, proceeded to claſs, among the number of things indifferent, ſeveral doctrines, which Luther had pointed out as groſs and pernicious errors in the Romiſh creed; and placing in the ſame rank many of thoſe rites which diſtinguiſhed the reformed from the popiſh worſhip, they exhorted their people to comply with the emperor's injunctions concerning theſe particulars §.

By this dexterous conduct, the introduction of the Interim excited none of thoſe violent convulſions in Saxony which it occaſioned in other provinces. But though the Saxons ſubmitted, the more zealous Lutherans exclaimed againſt Melancthon and his aſſociates, as falſe brethren, who were either ſo wicked as to apoſtatize from the truth altogether; or ſo crafty as to betray it by ſubtle diſtinctions; or ſo feeble-ſpirited as to give it up from puſillanimity and criminal complaiſance to a prince, capable of ſacrificing to his political intereſt that which he himſelf regarded as moſt ſacred. Maurice, being conſcious what a colour of probability his paſt conduct gave to thoſe accuſations, as well as afraid of loſing entirely the confidence of the proteſtants, iſſued a declaration containing profeſſions of his zealous attachment to the reformed religion, and of his reſolution to guard againſt all the errors or encroachments of the papal ſee†.

§ Sleid. 481, 485. Jo. Laur. Moſhemii Inſtitutionem Hiſt. Eccleſiaſticæ, lib. iv. Helmſt. 1755, 4to. p. 748. Jo. And. Schmidii Hiſtoria Interimiſtica, p. 70, &c. Helmſt. 1730.

† Sleid. 485.

Having gone ſo far in order to remove the fears and jealouſies of the proteſtants, he found it neceſſary to efface the impreſſion which ſuch a declaration might make upon the emperor. For that purpoſe, he not only renewed his profeſſions of an inviolable adherence to his alliance with him, but as the city of Magdeburg ſtill perſiſted in rejecting the Interim, he undertook to reduce it to obedience, and inſtantly ſet about levying troops to be employed in that ſervice. This damped all the hopes which the proteſtants began to conceive of Maurice, in conſequence of his declaration, and left them more than ever at a loſs to gueſs at his real intentions. Their former ſuſpicion and diſtruſt of him revived, and the divines of Magdeburg filled Germany with writings in which they repreſented him as the moſt formidable enemy of the proteſtant religion, who treacherouſly aſſumed an appearance of zeal for its intereſt, that he might more effectually execute his ſchemes for its deſtruction.

This charge, ſupported by the evidence of recent facts, as well as by his preſent dubious conduct, gained ſuch univerſal credit, that Maurice was obliged to take a vigorous ſtep in his own vindication. As ſoon as the re-aſſembling of the council at Trent was propoſed in the diet, his ambaſſadors proteſted that their maſter would not acknowledge its authority, unleſs all the points which had been already decided there, were reviewed, and conſidered as ſtill undetermined; unleſs the proteſtant divines had a full hearing granted them, and were allowed a deciſive voice in the council; and unleſs the pope renounced his pretenſions to preſide in the council, engaged to ſubmit to its decrees, and to abſolve the biſhops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their ſentiments with greater freedom. Theſe demands, which were higher than any that the reformers had ventured to make, even when the zeal of their party was warmeſt, or their affairs moſt proſperous, counterbalanced in ſome degree, the impreſſion which Maurice's preparations againſt Magdeburg had made upon the minds of the proteſtants, and

kept them in ſuſpenſe with regard to his deſigns. At the ſame time, he had dexterity enough to repreſent this part of his conduct in ſuch a light to the emperor, that it gave him no offence, and occaſioned no interruption of the ſtrict confidence which ſubſiſted between them. What the pretexts were which he employed, in order to give ſuch a bold declaration an innocent appearance, the contemporary hiſtorians have not explained; that they impoſed upon Charles is certain, for he ſtill continued not only to proſecute his plan, as well concerning the Interim as the council, with the ſame ardour, but to place the ſame confidence in Maurice, with regard to the execution of both.

The pope's reſolution concerning the council not being yet known at Augſburg, the chief buſineſs of the diet was to enforce the obſervation of the Interim. As the ſenate of Magdeburg; notwithſtanding various endeavours to frighten or to ſoothe them into compliance, not only perſevered obſtinately in their oppoſition to the Interim, but began to ſtrengthen the fortifications of their city, and to levy troops in their own defence, Charles required the diet to aſſiſt him in quelling this audacious rebellion againſt a decree of the empire. Had the members of the diet been left to act agreeably to their own inclination, this demand would have been rejected without heſitation. All the Germans who favoured, in any degree, the new opinions in religion, and many who were influenced by no other conſideration than jealouſy of the emperor's growing power, regarded this effort of the citizens of Magdeburg, as a noble ſtand for the liberties of their country. Even ſuch as had not reſolution to exert the ſame ſpirit, admired the gallantry of their enterpriſe, and wiſhed it ſucceſs. But the preſence of Spaniſh troops, together with the dread of the emperor's diſpleaſure, overawed the members of the diet to ſuch a degree, that, without venturing to utter their own ſentiments, they tamely ratified, by their votes, whatever the emperor was pleaſed to preſcribe. The rigorous decrees, which Charles had iſſued

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by his own authority againſt the Magdeburgers, were confirmed; a reſolution was taken to raiſe troops in order to beſiege the city in form; and perſons were named to fix the contingent in men or money to be furniſhed by each ſtate. At the ſame time the diet petitioned that Maurice might be entruſted with the command of that army; to which Charles gave his conſent with great alacrity, and with high encomiums upon the wiſdom of the choice which they had made§. As Maurice conducted all his ſchemes with profound and impenetrable ſecrecy, it is probable that he took no ſtep avowedly in order to obtain this charge. The recommendation of his countrymen was either purely accidental, or flowed from the opinion generally entertained of his great abilities; and neither the diet had any foreſight, nor the emperor any dread, of the conſequences which followed upon this nomination. Maurice accepted, without heſitation, the command to which he was recommended, inſtantly diſcerning the important advantages which he might derive from having it committed to him.

Meanwhile, Julius, in preparing the bull for the convocation of the council, obſerved all thoſe tedious forms which the court of Rome can artfully employ to retard any diſagreeable meaſure. At laſt, however, it was publiſhed, and the council was ſummoned to meet at Trent on the firſt day of the enſuing month of May. As he knew that many of the Germans rejected or diſputed the authority and juriſdiction which the papal ſee claims with reſpect to general councils, he took care, in the preamble of the bull, to aſſert, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his own right, not only to call and preſide in that aſſembly, but to direct its proceedings; nor would he ſoften theſe expreſſions in any degree, in compliance with the repeated ſolicitations of the emperor; who foreſaw what offence they would give, and what conſtruction might be put on them. They were cenſured accordingly with great ſeverity by ſeveral members of the diet; but whatever diſguſt

§ Sleid. 503, 512.

or ſuſpicion they excited, ſuch complete influence over all their deliberations had the emperor acquired, that he procured a receſs [Feb. 13, 1551], in which the authority of the council was recogniſed, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which at that time afflicted the church; all the princes and ſtates of the empire, ſuch as had made innovations in religion, as well as thoſe who adhered to the ſyſtem of their forefathers, were required to ſend their repreſentatives to the council; the emperor engaged to grant a ſafe-conduct to ſuch as demanded it, and to ſecure them an impartial hearing in the council; he promiſed to fix his reſidence in ſome city of the empire, in the neighbourhood of Trent, that he might protect the members of the council by his preſence, and take care that, by conducting their deliberations agreeably to ſcripture and the doctrine of the fathers, they might bring them to a deſirable iſſue. In this receſs, the obſervation of the Interim was more ſtrictly enjoined than ever; and the emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected or refuſed to conform to it, with the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance, if they perſiſted in their diſobedience§.

During the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made, in order to procure liberty to the landgrave. That prince, no ways reconciled to his ſituation by time, grew every day more impatient of reſtraint. Having often applied to Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg, who took every occaſion of ſoliciting the emperor in his behalf, though without any effect, he now commanded his ſons to ſummon them, with legal formality, to perform what was contained in the bond which they had granted him, by ſurrendering themſelves into their hands to be treated with the ſame rigour as the emperor had uſed him. This furniſhed them with a freſh pretext for renewing their application to the emperor, together with an additional argument to enforce it. Charles firmly reſolved not to grant their requeſt; though, at the

§ Sleid. 512. Thuan. lib. vi. 233. Goldaſti Conſtit. Imperiales, vol ii. 340.

ſame time, being extremely deſirous to be delivered from their inceſſant importunity, he endeavoured to prevail on the landgrave to give up the bond which he had received from the two electors. But that prince refuſing to part with a ſecurity which he deemed eſſential to his ſafety, the emperor boldly cut the knot which he could not untie; and by a public deed annulled the bond which Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg had granted, abſolving them from all their engagements to the landgrave. No pretenſion to a power ſo pernicious to ſociety as that of abrogating at pleaſure the moſt ſacred laws of honour, and moſt formal obligations of public faith, had hitherto been formed by any but the Roman pontiffs, who, in conſequence of their claim of ſupreme power on earth, arrogate the right of diſpenſing with precepts and duties of every kind. All Germany was filled with aſtoniſhment, when Charles aſſumed the ſame prerogative. The ſtate of ſubjection, to which the empire was reduced, appeared to be more rigorous, as well as intolerable, than that of the moſt wretched and enſlaved nations, if the emperor, by an arbitrary decree, might cancel thoſe ſolemn contracts which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in ſocial union. The landgrave himſelf now gave up all hopes of recovering his liberty by the emperor's conſent, and endeavoured to procure it by his own addreſs. But the plan which he had formed to deceive his guards being diſcovered, ſuch of his attendants as he had gained to favour his eſcape, were put to death, and he was confined in the citadel of Mechlin more cloſely than ever †.

Another tranſaction was carried on during this diet, with reſpect to an affair more nearly intereſting to the emperor, and which occaſioned likewiſe a general alarm among the princes of the empire. Charles, though formed with talents which fitted him for conceiving and conducting great deſigns, was not capable, as has been often obſerved, of

† Sleid. 504. Thuan. l. vi. 234, 235.

bearing extraordinary ſucceſs. Its operation on his mind was ſo violent and intoxicating, that it elevated him beyond what was moderate or attainable, and turned his whole attention to the purſuit of vaſt but chimerical objects. Such had been the effect of his victory over the confederates of Smalkalde. He did not long reſt ſatisfied with the ſubſtantial and certain advantages which were the reſult of that event, but, deſpiſing theſe, as poor or inconſiderable fruits of ſuch great ſucceſs, he aimed at nothing leſs than at bringing all Germany to an uniformity in religion, and at rendering the Imperial power deſpotic. Theſe were objects extremely ſplendid indeed, and alluring to an ambitious mind; the purſuit of them, however, was attended with manifeſt danger, and the hope of attaining them very uncertain. But the ſteps which he had already taken towards them, having been accompanied with ſuch ſucceſs, his imagination, warmed with contemplating this alluring object, overlooked or deſpiſed all remaining difficulties. As he conceived the execution of his plan to be certain, he began to be ſolicitous how he might render the poſſeſſion of ſuch an important acquiſition perpetual in his family, by tranſmitting the German empire, together with the kingdoms of Spain, and his dominions in Italy and the Low-Countries, to his ſon. Having long revolved this flattering idea in his mind, without communicating it, even to thoſe miniſters whom he moſt truſted, he had called Philip out of Spain, in hopes that his preſence would facilitate the carrying forward the ſcheme.

Great obſtacles, however, and ſuch as would have deterred any ambition leſs accuſtomed to overcome difficulties, were to be ſurmounted. He had, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty, imprudently aſſiſted in procuring his brother Ferdinand the dignity of king of the Romans, and there was no probability that this prince, who was ſtill in the prime of life, and had a ſon grown up to the years of manhood, would relinquiſh, in favour of his nephew, the

near profpect of the Imperial throne, which Charles's infirmities and declining ſtate of health opened to himſelf. This did not deter the emperor from venturing to make the propoſition; and when Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his profound reverence for his brother, and obſequious ſubmiſſion to his will in other inſtances, rejected it in a peremptory tone, he was not diſcouraged by one repulſe. He renewed his applications to him by his ſiſter, Mary queen of Hungary, to whom Ferdinand ſtood indebted for the crowns both of Hungary and Bohemia, and who, by her great abilities, tempered with extreme gentleneſs of diſpoſition, had acquired an extraordinary influence over both the brothers. She entered warmly into a meaſure, which tended ſo manifeſtly to aggrandize the houſe of Auſtria; and flattering herſelf that ſhe could tempt Ferdinand to renounce the reverſionary poſſeſſion of the Imperial dignity for an immediate eſtabliſhment, ſhe aſſured him that the emperor, by way of compenſation for his giving up his chance of ſucceſſion would inſtantly beſtow upon him territories of very conſiderable value, and pointed out in particular thoſe of the duke of Wurtemberg, which might be confiſcated upon different pretexts. But neither by her addreſs nor intreaties could ſhe induce Ferdinand to approve of a plan, which would not only have degraded him from the higheſt rank among the monarchs of Europe to that of a ſubordinate and dependent prince, but would have involved both him and his poſterity in perpetual conteſts. He was, at the ſame time, more attached to his children, than by a raſh conceſſion to fruſtrate all the high hopes, in proſpect of which they had been educated.

Notwithſtanding the immoveable firmneſs which Ferdinand diſcovered, the emperor did not abandon his ſcheme. He flattered himſelf that he might attain the object in view by another channel, and that it was not impoſſible to prevail on the electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at leaſt to elect Philip a ſecond king of the Romans, ſubſtituting him as next in ſucceſſion to his uncle.

With this view, he took Philip along with him to the diet, hat the Germans might have an opportunity to obſerve nd become acquainted with the prince, in behalf of whom e courted their intereſt; and he himſelf employed all the rts of addreſs or inſinuation to gain the electors, and to repare them for liſtening with a favourable ear to the pro- oſal. But no ſooner did he venture upon mentioning it to hem, than they, at once, ſaw and trembled at the conſe- uences with which it would be attended. They had long elt all the inconveniencies of having placed at the head of he empire a prince whoſe power and dominions were ſo ex- enſive; if they ſhould now repeat the folly, and continue the mperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the ſame fa- ily, they foreſaw that they would give the ſon an oppor- unity of carrying on that ſyſtem of oppreſſion which the ather had begun; and would put it in his power to overturn hatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fa- ric of the German conſtitution.

The character of the prince, in whoſe favour this extra- rdinary propoſition was made, rendered it ſtill leſs agree- ble. Philip, though poſſeſſed with an inſatiable deſire of ower, was a ſtranger to all the arts of conciliating good- ill. Haughty, reſerved, and ſevere, he, inſtead of gaining ew friends, diſguſted the ancient and moſt devoted parti- ans of the Auſtrian intereſt. He ſcorned to take the rouble of acquiring the language of the country to the go- ernment of which he aſpired; nor would he condeſcend to ay the Germans the compliment of accommodating him- lf, during his reſidence among them, to their manners and uſtoms.* He allowed the electors and moſt illuſtrious prin- es in Germany to remain in his preſence uncovered, affect- ng a ſtately and diſtant demeanour, which the greateſt of he German emperors, and even Charles himſelf, amidſt the ride of power and victory, had never aſſumed. On the

* Frediman Andreæ Zulich Diſſertatio politico-hiſtorica de Næ- is politicis Caroli V. Lipſ. 1706. 4to. p. 21.

other hand, Ferdinand, from the time of his arrival in Germany, had ſtudied to render himſelf acceptable to the people, by a conformity to their manners, which ſeemed to flow from choice; and his ſon Maximilian, who was born in Germany, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, ſuch amiable qualities as rendered him the darling of his countrymen, and induced them to look forward to his election as a moſt deſirable event. Their eſteem and affection for him, fortified the reſolution which ſound policy had ſuggeſted; and determined the Germans to prefer the popular virtues of Ferdinand and his ſon, to the ſtubborn auſterity of Philip, which intereſt could not ſoften, nor ambition teach him to diſguiſe. All the electors, the eccleſiaſtical as well as ſecular, concurred in expreſſing ſuch ſtrong diſapprobation of the meaſure, that Charles, notwithſtanding the reluctance with which he gave up any point, was obliged to drop the ſcheme as impracticable. By his unſeaſonable perſeverance in puſhing it, he had not only filled the Germans with new jealouſy of his ambitious deſigns, but laid the foundation of rivalſhip and diſcord in the Auſtrian family, and forced his brother Ferdinand, in ſelf-defence, to court the electors, particularly Maurice of Saxony, and to form ſuch connections with them, as cut off all proſpect of renewing the propoſal with ſucceſs. Philip, ſoured by his diſappointment, was ſent back to Spain, to be called thence when any new ſcheme of ambition ſhould render his preſence neceſſary†.

Having relinquiſhed this plan of domeſtic ambition, which had long occupied and engroſſed him, Charles imagined that he would now have leiſure to turn all his attention towards his grand ſcheme of eſtabliſhing uniformity of religion in the empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquieſce in the deciſions of the council of Trent. But ſuch was the extent of his dominions, the variety of con-

† Sleid. 505. Thuan. 180, 238. Memoir. de Ribier, ii. 219, 281, 314. Adriani Iſtor. lib. viii. 507, 520.

nections in which this entangled him, and the multiplicity of events to which these gave rise, as seldom allowed him to apply his whole force to any one object. The machine which he had to conduct was so great and complicated, that an unforeseen irregularity or obstruction in one of the inferior wheels, often disconcerted the motion of the whole, and prevented his deriving from them all the beneficial effects which he expected. Such an unlooked-for occurrence happened at this juncture, and created new obstacles to the execution of his schemes with regard to religion. Julius III. though he had confirmed Octavio Farnese in the possession of the dutchy of Parma, during the first effusions of his joy and gratitude on his promotion to the papal throne, soon began to repent of his own generosity, and to be apprehensive of consequences which either he did not foresee, or had disregarded, while the sense of his obligations to the family of Farnese was recent. The emperor still retained Placentia in his hands, and had not relinquished his pretensions to Parma as a fief of the empire. Gonzaga, the governor of Milan, having, by the part which he took in the murder of the late duke Peter Ludovico, offered an insult to the family of Farnese, which he knew could never be forgiven, had, for that reason, vowed its destruction; and employed all the influence which his great abilities, as well as long services, gave him with the emperor, in persuading him to seize Parma by force of arms. Charles, in compliance with his solicitations, and that he might gratify his own desire of annexing Parma to the Milanese, listened to the proposal; and Gonzaga, ready to take encouragement from the slightest appearance of approbation, began to assemble troops, and to make other preparations for the execution of his scheme.

Octavio, who saw the impending danger, found it necessary, for his own safety, to increase the garrison of his capital, and to levy soldiers for defending the rest of the country. But as the expence of such an effort far exceeded his

ſcanty revenues, he repreſented his ſituation to the pope, and implored that protection and aſſiſtance which was due to him as a vaſſal of the church. The Imperial miniſter, however, had already pre-occupied the pope's ear; and by diſcourſing continually concerning the danger of giving offence to the emperor, as well as the imprudence of ſupporting Octavio in an uſurpation ſo detrimental to the holy ſee, had totally alienated him from the family of Farneſe. Octavio's remonſtrance and petition met, of conſequence, with a cold reception; and he, deſpairing of any aſſiſtance from Julius, began to look round for protection from ſome other quarter. Henry II. of France was the only prince powerful enough to afford him this protection, and fortunately he was now in a ſituation which allowed him to grant it. He had brought his tranſactions with the two Britiſh kingdoms which had hitherto diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent, to ſuch an iſſue as he deſired. This he had effected partly by the vigour of his arms, partly by his dexterity in taking advantage of the political factions which raged in both kingdoms to ſuch a degree, as rendered the councils of the Scots violent and precipitate, and the operations of the Engliſh feeble and unſteady. He had procured from the Engliſh favourable conditions of peace for his allies the Scots; he had prevailed on the nobles of Scotland not only to affiance their young queen to his ſon the dauphin, but even to ſend her into France, that ſhe might be educated under his eye; and had recovered Boulogne, together with its dependencies, which had been conquered by Henry VIII.

The French king having gained points of ſo much conſequence to his crown, and diſengaged himſelf with ſuch honour from the burden of ſupporting the Scots, and maintaining a war againſt England, was now at full leiſure to purſue the meaſures which his hereditary jealouſy of the emperor's power naturally ſuggeſted. He liſtened accordingly, to the firſt overtures which Octavio Farneſe made

m; and embracing eagerly an opportunity of recovering oting in Italy, he inſtantly concluded a treaty, in which bound himſelf to eſpouſe his cauſe, and to furniſh him the aſſiſtance which he deſired. This tranſaction could t be long kept ſecret from the pope, who foreſeeing the lamities which muſt follow if war were rekindled ſo near e eccleſiaſtical ſtate, immediately iſſued monitory letters quiring Octavio to relinquiſh his new alliance. Upon s refuſal to comply with the requiſition, he ſoon af- r pronounced his fief to be forfeited, and declared ar againſt him as a diſobedient and rebellious vaſ- l. But as, with his own forces alone, he could not hope ſubdue Octavio while ſupported by ſuch a powerful ally the king of France, he had recourſe to the emperor, who eing extremely ſolicitous to prevent the eſtabliſhment of e French in Parma, ordered Gonzaga to ſecond Julius ith all his troops. Thus the French took the field as the lies of Octavio, the Imperialiſts as the protectors of the oly ſee; and hoſtilities commenced between them, while harles and Henry themſelves ſtill affected to give out that ey would adhere inviolably to the peace of Creſpy. The ar of Parma was not diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event. Many ſmall rencountres happened with alternate ſucceſs; the rench ravaged part of the eccleſiaſtical territories; the Im- erialiſts laid waſte the Parmeſan; and the latter, after hav- g begun to beſiege Parma in form, were obliged to aban- n the enterpriſe with diſgrace *.

But the motions and alarm which this war, or the pre- arations for it, occaſioned in Italy, prevented moſt of the talian prelates from repairing to Trent on the firſt of May, e day appointed for re-aſſembling the council; and though e papal legate and nuncios reſorted thither, they were o- liged to adjourn the council to the firſt of September, hop-

* Adriani Iſtor. lib. viii. 505, 514, 524. Sleid. 513. Paruta, p. 20. Lettere del Caro ſcritte al nome del Card. Farneſe, tom. ii. p. 1, &c.

ing ſuch a number of prelates might then aſſemble, that they might with decency begin their deliberations. At that time about ſixty prelates, moſtly from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, or from Spain, together with a few Germans, convened †. The ſeſſion was opened with the accuſtomed formalities, and the fathers were about to proceed to buſineſs, when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and preſenting letters of credence as ambaſſador from the king of France, demanded audience. Having obtained it; he proteſted, in Henry's name, againſt an aſſembly called at ſuch an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impoſſible for the deputies from the Gallican church to reſort to Trent in ſafety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and diſcipline with the requiſite tranquillity; he declared, that his maſter did not acknowledge this to be a general or oecumenic council, but muſt conſider, and would treat it, as a particular and partial convention ‡. The legate affected to deſpiſe this proteſt; and the prelates proceeded, notwithſtanding, to examine and decide the great points in controverſy concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, penance, and extreme unction. This meaſure of the French monarch, however, gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the very commencement of its deliberations. The Germans would not pay much regard to an aſſembly, the authority of which the ſecond prince in Chriſtendom had formally diſclaimed, or feel any great reverence for the deciſions of a few men, who arrogated to themſelves all the rights belonging to the repreſentatives of the church univerſal, a title to which they had ſuch poor pretenſions.

The emperor, nevertheleſs, was ſtraining his authority to the utmoſt, in order to eſtabliſh the reputation and juriſdiction of the council. He had prevailed on the three eccleſiaſtical electors, the prelates of greateſt power and dignity in the church next to the pope, to repair thither in per-

† F. Paul, 268. ‡ Sleid. 518. Thuan. 282. F. Paul, 301.

on. He had obliged ſeveral German biſhops of inferior ank, to go to Trent themſelves, or to ſend their proxies. He granted an Imperial ſafe-conduct to the ambaſſadors nominated by the elector of Brandenburg, the duke of Wurtemberg, and other proteſtants, to attend the council; and exhorted them to ſend their divines thither, in order to propound, explain, and defend their doctrine. At the ſame time, his zeal anticipated the decrees of the council; and as the opinions of the proteſtants had already been condemned, he took large ſteps towards exterminating them. With this intention, he called together the miniſters of Augſburg; and after interrogating them concerning ſeveral controverted points enjoined them to teach nothing with reſpect to theſe contrary to the tenets of the Romiſh church. Upon their declining to comply with a requiſition ſo contrary to the dictates of their conſciences, he commanded them to leave the town in three days, without revealing to any perſon the cauſe of their baniſhment; he prohibited them to preach for the future in any province of the empire; and obliged them to take an oath that they would punctually obey theſe injunctions. They were not the only victims to his zeal. The proteſtant clergy, in moſt of the cities in the circle of Suabia, were ejected with the ſame violence; and in many places, ſuch magiſtrates as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their attachment to the new opinions, were diſmiſſed with the moſt abrupt irregularity, and their offices filled, in conſequence of the emperor's arbitrary appointment, with the moſt bigotted of their adverſaries. The reformed worſhip was almoſt entirely ſuppreſſed throughout that extenſive province. The ancient and fundamental privileges of the free cities were violated. The people were compelled to attend the miniſtration of prieſts, whom they regarded with horror as idolaters; and to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of magiſtrates, whom they deteſted as uſurpers *.

The emperor, after this diſcovery, which was more explicit than any that he had hitherto made, of his intention

* Sleid. 516, 528. Thuan. 276.

to ſubvert the German conſtitution, as well as to extirpate the proteſtant religion, ſet out for Inſpruck in the Tyrol. He fixed his reſidence in that city [Novem.], as, by its ſituation in the neighbourhood of Trent, and on the confines of Italy, it appeared a commodious ſtation, whence he might inſpect the operations of the council, and obſerve the progreſs of the war in the Parmeſan without loſing ſight of ſuch occurrences as might happen in Germany†.

During theſe tranſactions, the ſiege of Magdeburg was carried on with various ſucceſs. At the time when Charles proſcribed the citizens of Magdeburg, and put them under the ban of the empire, he had exhorted and even enjoined all the neighbouring ſtates to take arms againſt them, as rebels and common enemies. Encouraged by his exhortations as well as promiſes, George of Mecklenburg, a younger brother of the reigning duke, an active and ambitious prince, collected a conſiderable number of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune who had accompanied Henry of Brunſwick in all his wild enterpriſes; and though a zealous Lutheran himſelf, invaded the territories of the Magdeburgers, hoping that, by the merit of this ſervice, he might procure ſome part of their domains to be allotted to him as an eſtabliſhment. The citizens, unaccuſtomed as yet to endure patiently the calamities of war, could not be reſtrained from ſallying out in order to ſave their lands from being laid waſte. They attacked the duke of Mecklenburg with more reſolution than conduct, and were repulſed with great ſlaughter. But as they were animated with that unconquerable ſpirit, which flows from zeal for religion co-operating with the love of civil liberty, far from being diſheartened by their misfortune they prepared to defend themſelves with vigour. Many of the veteran ſoldiers who had ſerved in the long wars between the emperor and king of France, crowding to their ſtandards under able and experienced officers, the citizens acquired military ſkill by degrees, and added all the advantages of

† Sleid. 329.

that to the efforts of undaunted courage. The duke of Mecklenburg, notwithſtanding the ſevere blow which he had given the Magdeburgers, not daring to inveſt a town ſtrongly fortified, and defended by ſuch a garriſon, continued to ravage the open country.

As the hopes of booty drew many adventurers to the camp of this young prince, Maurice of Saxony began to be jealous of the power which he poſſeſſed by being at the head of ſuch a numerous body, and marching towards Magdeburg with his own troops, aſſumed the ſupreme command of the whole army, an honour to which his high rank and great abilities, as well as the nomination of the diet, gave him an indiſputable title. With this united force, he inveſted the town, and began the ſiege in form; claiming great merit with the emperor on that account, as from his zeal to execute the Imperial decree, he was expoſing himſelf once more to the cenſures and maledictions of the party with which he agreed in religious ſentiments. But the approaches to the town went on ſlowly; the garriſon interrupted the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, in one of which George of Mecklenburg was taken priſoner, levelled part of their works, and cut off the ſoldiers in their advanced poſts. While the citizens of Magdeburg, animated by the diſcourſes of their paſtors, and the ſoldiers, encouraged by the example of their officers, endured all the hardſhips of a ſiege without murmuring, and defended themſelves with the ſame ardour which they had at firſt diſcovered; the troops of the beſiegers acted with extreme remiſſneſs, repining at every thing that they ſuffered in a ſervice which they diſliked. They broke out more than once into an open mutiny, demanding the arrears of their pay, which, as the members of the Germanic body ſent in their contributions towards defraying the expences of the war ſparingly, and with great reluctance, amounted to a conſiderable ſum*. Maurice, too, had particular motives, though ſuch as he durſt not avow at that juncture, which

* Thuan. 277. Sleid. 514.

induced him not to puſh the ſiege with vigour, and made him chuſe rather to continue at the head of an army expoſed to all the imputations which his dilatory proceedings drew upon him, than to precipitate a conqueſt that might have brought him ſome acceſſion of reputation, but would have rendered it neceſſary to diſband his forces.

At laſt, the inhabitants of the town beginning to ſuffer diſtreſs from want of proviſions, and Maurice, finding it impoſſible to protract matters any longer without filling the emperor with ſuch ſuſpicions as might have diſconcerted all his meaſures, he concluded a treaty of capitulation with the city [Novem. 3] upon the following conditions; that the Magdeburgers ſhould humbly implore pardon of the emperor; that they ſhould not for the future take arms, or enter into any alliance againſt the houſe of Auſtria; that they ſhould ſubmit to the authority of the Imperial chamber; that they ſhould conform to the decree of the diet at Augſburg with reſpect to religion; that the new fortifications added to the town ſhould be demoliſhed; that they ſhould pay a fine of fifty thouſand crowns, deliver up twelve pieces of ordnance to the emperor, and ſet the duke of Mecklenburg, together with their other priſoners, at liberty, without ranſom. Next day their garriſon marched out, and Maurice took poſſeſſion of the town with great military pomp.

Before the terms of capitulation were ſettled, Maurice had held many conferences with Albert count Mansfeldt, who had the chief command in Magdeburg. He conſulted likewiſe with count Heideck, an officer who had ſerved with great reputation in the army of the league of Smalkalde, whom the emperor had proſcribed on account of his zeal for that cauſe, but whom Maurice had, notwithſtanding, ſecretly engaged in his ſervice, and admitted into the moſt intimate confidence. To them he communicated a ſcheme, which he had long revolved in his mind, for procuring liberty to his father-in-law the landgrave, for vindicating the pri-

vileges of the Germanic body, and ſetting bounds to the dangerous encroachments of the Imperial power. Having deliberated with them concerning the meaſures which might be neceſſary for ſecuring the ſucceſs of ſuch an arduous enterpriſe, he gave Mansfeldt ſecret aſſurances that the fortifications of Magdeburg ſhould not be deſtroyed, and that the inhabitants ſhould neither be diſturbed in the exerciſe of their religion, nor be deprived of any of their ancient immunities. In order to engage Maurice more thoroughly from conſiderations of intereſt to fulfil theſe engagements, the ſenate of Magdeburg elected him their burgrave, a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral houſe of Saxony, and which entitled him to a very ample juriſdiction not only in the city but in its dependencies†.

Thus the citizens of Magdeburg, after enduring a ſiege of twelve months, and ſtruggling for their liberties, religious and civil, with an invincible fortitude, worthy of the cauſe in which it was exerted, had at laſt the good fortune to conclude a treaty which left them in a better condition than the reſt of their countrymen, whom their timidity or want of public ſpirit had betrayed into ſuch mean ſubmiſſions to the emperor. But while a great part of Germany applauded the gallant conduct of the Magdeburgers, and rejoiced in their having eſcaped the deſtruction with which they had been threatened, all admired Maurice's addreſs in the conduct of his negotiation with them, as well as the dexterity with which he converted every event to his own advantage. They ſaw, with amazement, that after having afflicted the Magdeburgers during many months with all the calamities of war, he was at laſt, by their voluntary election, advanced to the ſtation of higheſt authority in that city which he had lately beſieged; that after having been ſo long the object of their ſatirical invectives as an apoſtate and an enemy to the religion which he profeſſed, they ſeemed now to place

† Sleid. 528. Thuan. ii. 276. Obſidionis Magdeburgici Deſcriptio per Sebaſt. Beſſelmeierum, ap. Scard. ii. 518.

unbounded confidence in his zeal and good will*. At the ſame time, the public articles in the treaty of capitulation were ſo perfectly conformable to thoſe which the emperor had granted to the other proteſtant cities, and Maurice took ſuch care to magnify his merit in having reduced a place which had defended itſelf with ſo much obſtinacy, that Charles, far from ſuſpecting any thing fraudulent or colluſive in the terms of accommodation, ratified them without heſitation, and abſolved the Magdeburgers from the ſentence of ban which had been denounced againſt them.

The only point that now remained to embarraſs Maurice was how to keep together the veteran troops which had ſerved under him, as well as thoſe which had been employed in the defence of the town. For this, too, he found an expedient with ſingular art and felicity. His ſchemes againſt the emperor were not yet ſo fully ripened, that he durſt venture to diſcloſe them, and proceed openly to carry them into execution. The winter was approaching, which made it impoſſible to take the field immediately. He was afraid that it would give a premature alarm to the emperor, if he ſhould retain ſuch a conſiderable body in his pay until the ſeaſon of action returned in the ſpring. As ſoon then as Magdeburg opened its gates, he ſent home his Saxon ſubjects, whom he could command to take arms and re-aſſemble on the ſhorteſt warning; and at the ſame time, paying part of the arrears due to the mercenary troops, who had followed his ſtandard, as well as to the ſoldiers who had ſerved in the garriſon, he abſolved them from their reſpective oaths of fidelity, and diſbanded them. But the moment he gave them their diſcharge, George of Mecklenburg, who was now ſet at liberty, offered to take them into his ſervice, and to become ſurety for the payment of what was ſtill owing to them. As ſuch adventurers were accuſtomed often to change maſters, they inſtantly accepted the offer. Thus theſe troops were kept united, and ready to march wherever

* Arnoldi vita Maurit. apud Menken, ii. 1227.

Maurice ſhould call them, while the emperor, deceived by this artifice, and imagining that George of Mecklenburg had hired them with an intention to aſſert his claim to a part of his brother's territories by force of arms, ſuffered this tranſaction to paſs without obſervation, as if it had been a matter of no conſequence†.

Having ventured to take theſe ſteps, which were of ſo much conſequence towards the execution of his ſchemes, Maurice, that he might divert the emperor from obſerving their tendency too narrowly, and prevent the ſuſpicions which that muſt have excited, ſaw the neceſſity of employing ſome new artifice in order to engage his attention, and to confirm him in his preſent ſecurity. As he knew that the chief object of the emperor's ſolicitude at this juncture, was how he might prevail with the proteſtant ſtates of Germany to recognize the authority of the council of Trent, and to ſend thither ambaſſadors in their own name, as well as deputies from their reſpective churches, he took hold of this predominating paſſion in order to amuſe and to deceive him. He affected a wonderful zeal to gratify Charles in what he deſired with regard to this matter; he nominated ambaſſadors, whom he empowered to attend the council; he made choice of Melancthon and ſome of the moſt eminent among his brethren to prepare a confeſſion of faith, and to lay it before that aſſembly. After his example, and probably in conſequence of his ſolicitations, the duke of Wurtemberg, the city of Straſburg, and other proteſtant ſtates, appointed ambaſſadors and divines to attend the council. They all applied to the emperor for his ſafe-conduct, which they obtained in the moſt ample form. This was deemed ſufficient for the ſecurity of the ambaſſadors, and they proceeded accordingly on their journey; but a ſeparate ſafe-conduct from the council itſelf was demanded for the proteſtant divines. The fate of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, whom the

† Thuan. 278. Struv. Corp. Hiſt. Germ. 1064. Arnoldi vita Mauritii, apud Menken, ii. 1227.

council of Conſtance, in the preceding century, had condemned to the flames without regarding the Imperial ſafe-conduct which had been granted them, rendered this precaution prudent and neceſſary. But as the pope was no leſs unwilling that the proteſtants ſhould be admitted to an hearing in the council, than the emperor had been eager in bringing them to demand it, the legate by promiſes and threats prevailed on the fathers of the council to decline iſſuing a ſafe-conduct in the ſame form with that which the council of Baſil had granted to the followers of Hufs. The proteſtants, on their part, inſiſted upon the council's copying the preciſe words of that inſtrument. The Imperial ambaſſadors interpoſed in order to obtain what would ſatisfy them. Alterations in the form of the writ were propoſed; expedients were ſuggeſted; proteſts and counter-proteſts were taken: the legate, together with his aſſociates, laboured to gain their point by artifice and chicane; the proteſtants adhered to theirs with firmneſs and obſtinacy. An account of every thing that paſſed in Trent was tranſmitted to the emperor at Inſpruck, who, attempting, from an exceſs of zeal, or of confidence in his own addreſs, to reconcile the contending parties, was involved in a labyrinth of inextricable negotiations. By means of this, however, Maurice gained all that he had in view; the emperor's time was wholly engroſſed, and his attention diverted; while he himſelf had leiſure to mature his ſchemes, to carry on his intrigues, and to finiſh his preparations, before he threw off the maſk, and ſtruck the blow which he had ſo long meditated*.

But previous to entering into any farther detail concerning Maurice's operations, ſome account muſt be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little towards their producing ſuch extraordinary effects. When Solyman, in the year 1541, by a ſtratagem, which ſuited the baſe and inſidious policy of a petty uſurper, rather than the magnanimity of a mighty conqueror, deprived

* Sleid. 526, 529. F. Paul, 323, 338. Thuan. 286.

the young king of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he had granted that unfortunate prince the country of Tranſylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this, together with the care of educating the young king, for he ſtill allowed him to retain that title, though he had rendered it only an empty name, he committed to the queen and Martinuzzi biſhop of Waradin, whom the late king had appointed joint guardians of his ſon, and regents of his dominions, at a time when thoſe offices were of greater importance. This coordinate juriſdiction occaſioned the ſame diſſenſions in a ſmall principality as it would have excited in a great kingdom; an ambitious young queen, poſſeſſed with an high opinion of her own capacity for governing; and an high-ſpirited prelate, fond of power, contending who ſhould engroſs the greateſt ſhare in the adminiſtration. Each had their partizans among the nobles; but as Martinuzzi, by his great talents, began to acquire the aſcendant, Iſabella turned his own arts againſt him, and courted the protection of the Turks.

The neighbouring baſhas, jealous of the biſhop's power as well as abilities, readily promiſed her the aid which ſhe demanded, and would ſoon have obliged Martinuzzi to have given up to her the ſole direction of affairs, if his ambition, fertile in expedients, had not ſuggeſted to him a new meaſure, and one that tended not only to preſerve but to enlarge his authority. Having concluded an agreement with the queen, by the mediation of ſome of the nobles, who were ſolicitous to ſave their country from the calamities of a civil war, he ſecretly diſpatched one of his confidents to Vienna, and entered into a negotiation with Ferdinand. As it was no difficult matter to perſuade Ferdinand, that the ſame man whoſe enmity and intrigues had driven him out of a great part of his Hungarian dominions, might, upon a reconciliation, become equally inſtrumental in recovering them, he liſtened eagerly to the firſt overtures of an union with that prelate. Martinuz-

zi allured him by ſuch proſpects of advantage, and engaged, with ſo much confidence, that he would prevail on the moſt powerful of the Hungarian nobles to take arms in his favour, that Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his truce with Solyman, agreed to invade Tranſylvania. The command of the troops deſtined for that ſervice, conſiſting of veteran Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, was given to Caſtaldo marquis de Piadena, an officer formed by the famous marquis de Peſcara, whom he ſtrongly reſembled both in his enterpriſing genius for civil buſineſs, and in his great knowledge in the art of war. This army, more formidable by the diſcipline of the ſoldiers, and the abilities of the general, than by its numbers, was powerfully ſeconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians. As the Turkiſh baſhas, the ſultan himſelf being at the head of his army on the frontiers of Perſia, could not afford the queen ſuch immediate or effectual aſſiſtance as the exigency of her affairs required, ſhe quickly loſt all hopes of being able to retain any longer the authority which ſhe poſſeſſed as regent, and even began to deſpair of her ſon's ſafety.

Martinuzzi did not ſuffer this favourable opportunity of accompliſhing his own deſigns to paſs unimproved, and ventured, while ſhe was in this ſtate of dejection, to lay before her a propoſal, which at any other time ſhe would have rejected with diſdain. He repreſented how impoſſible it was for her to reſiſt Ferdinand's victorious arms; that even if the Turks ſhould enable her to make head againſt them, ſhe would be far from changing her condition to the better, and could not conſider them as deliverers, but as maſters, to whoſe commands ſhe muſt ſubmit; he conjured her, therefore, as ſhe regarded her own dignity, the ſafety of her ſon, or the ſecurity of Chriſtendom, rather to give up Tranſylvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her ſon's title to the crown of Hungary, than to allow both to be uſurped by the inveterate enemy of the Chriſtian faith. At the ſame time he promiſed her, in Ferdinand's name, a compen-

ation for herſelf, as well as for her ſon, ſuitable to their nk, and proportional to the value of what they were to crifice. Iſabella, deſerted by ſome of her adherents, diſruſting others, deſtitute of friends, and ſurrounded by Caaldo's and Martinuzzi's troops, ſubſcribed theſe hard conitions, though with a reluctant hand. Upon this, ſhe ſurendered ſuch places of ſtrength as were ſtill in her poſſeſſion, e gave up all the enſigns of royalty, particularly a crown f gold, which, as the Hungarians believed, had deſcended om heaven, and conferred on him who wore it an undoubtd right to the throne. As ſhe could not bear to remain a rivate perſon, in a country where ſhe had once enjoyed ſoereign power, ſhe inſtantly ſet out with her ſon for Sileſia, n order to take poſſeſſion of the principalities of Oppelen nd Ratibor, the inveſtiture of which Ferdinand had enaged to grant her ſon, and likewiſe to beſtow one of his aughters upon him in marriage.

Upon the reſignation of the young king, Martinuzzi, nd after his example the reſt of the Tranſylvanian granees, ſwore allegiance to Ferdinand; who, in order to teſti his grateful ſenſe of the zeal as well as ſucceſs with which hat prelate had ſerved him, affected to diſtinguiſh him by very poſſible mark of favour and confidence. He appointd him governor of Tranſylvania, with almoſt unlimited auhority; he publicly ordered Caſtaldo to pay the greateſt eference to his opinion and commands; he increaſed his venues, which were already very great, by new apointments; he nominated him archbiſhop of Gran, and preiled on the pope to raiſe him to the dignity of a cardinal. ll this oſtentation of good-will, however, was void of ſinrity, and calculated to conceal ſentiments the moſt perctly its reverſe. Ferdinand dreaded Martinuzzi's abilities ſtruſted his fidelity; and foreſaw, that as his extenſive auhority enabled him to check any attempt towards circumribing or aboliſhing the extenſive privileges which the ungarian nobility poſſeſſed, he would ſtand forth on every

occaſion, the guardian of the liberties of his country, rather than act the part of a viceroy devoted to the will of his ſovereign.

For this reaſon, he ſecretly gave it in charge to Caſtaldo, to watch his motions, to guard againſt his deſigns, and to thwart his meaſures. But Martinuzzi, either becauſe he did not perceive that Caſtaldo was placed as a ſpy on his actions, or becauſe he deſpiſed Ferdinand's inſidious arts, aſſumed the direction of the war againſt the Turks with his uſual tone of authority, and conducted it with great magnanimity, and no leſs ſucceſs. He recovered ſome places of which the infidels had taken poſſeſſion; he rendered their attempts to reduce others abortive; and eſtabliſhed Ferdinand's authority not only in Tranſylvania, but in the Bannat of Temeſwar, and ſeveral of the countries adjacent. In carrying on theſe operations, he often differed in ſentiments from Caſtaldo and his officers, and treated the Turkiſh priſoners with a degree not only of humanity, but even of generoſity, which Caſtaldo loudly condemned. This was repreſented at Vienna as an artful method of courting the friendſhip of the infidels, that, by ſecuring their protection, he might ſhake off all dependence upon the ſovereign whom he now acknowledged. Though Martinuzzi, in juſtification of his own conduct, contended that it was impolitic by unneceſſary ſeverities to exaſperate an enemy prone to revenge, Caſtaldo's accuſations gained credit with Ferdinand, pre-poſſeſſed already againſt Martinuzzi, and jealous of every thing that could endanger his own authority in Hungary, in proportion as he knew it to be precarious and ill-eſtabliſhed. Theſe ſuſpicions Caſtaldo confirmed and ſtrengthened, by the intelligence which he tranſmitted continually to his confidents at Vienna. By miſrepreſenting what was innocent, and putting the worſt conſtruction on what ſeemed dubious in Martinuzzi's conduct; by imputing to him deſigns which he never formed, and charging him with actions of which he was not guilty; he at laſt convinced Ferdinand, that, in or-

der to preſerve his Hungarian crown, he muſt cut off that ambitious prelate. But Ferdinand, foreſeeing that it would be dangerous to proceed in the regular courſe of law againſt a ſubject of ſuch exorbitant power as might enable him to ſet his ſovereign at defiance, determined to employ violence in order to obtain that ſatisfaction which the laws were too feeble to afford him.

He iſſued his orders accordingly to Caſtaldo, who willingly undertook that infamous ſervice. Having communicated the deſign to ſome Italian and Spaniſh officers whom he could truſt, and concerted with them the plan of executing it, they entered Martinuzzi's apartment, early one morning [Dec. 18], under pretence of preſenting to him ſome diſpatches which were to be ſent off immediately to Vienna; and while he peruſed a paper with attention, one of their number ſtruck him with his poignard in the throat. The blow was not mortal. Martinuzzi ſtarted up with the intrepidity natural to him, and grappling the aſſaſſin, threw him to the ground. But the other conſpirators ruſhing in, an old man, unarmed, and alone, was unable long to ſuſtain ſuch an unequal conflict, and ſunk under the wounds which he received from ſo many hands. The Tranſylvanians were reſtrained by dread of the foreign troops ſtationed in their country, from riſing in arms; in order to take vengeance on the murderers of a prelate who had long been the object of their love as well as veneration. They ſpoke of the deed however, with horror and execration; and exclaimed againſt Ferdinand, whom neither gratitude for recent and important ſervices, nor reverence for a character conſidered as ſacred and inviolable among Chriſtians, could reſtrain from ſhedding the blood of a man, whoſe only crime was attachment to his native country. The nobles, deteſting the jealous as well as cruel policy of a court, which, upon uncertain and improbable ſurmiſes, had given up a perſon, no leſs conſpicuous for his merit than his rank, to be butchered by aſſaſſins, either retired to their own eſtates, or if they continued

with the Auſtrian army, grew cold to the ſervice. The Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whoſe abilities they knew and dreaded, prepared to renew hoſtilities early in the ſpring; and inſtead of the ſecurity which Ferdinand had expected from the removal of Martinuzzi, it was evident that his territories in Hungary were about to be attacked with greater vigour, and defended with leſs zeal, than ever†.

By this time, Maurice having almoſt finiſhed his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of declaring his intentions openly, and of taking the field againſt the emperor. His firſt care, after he came to this reſolution, was to diſclaim that narrow and bigotted maxim of the confederates of Smalkalde, which had led them to ſhun all connexion with foreigners. He had obſerved how fatal this had been to their cauſe; and, inſtructed by their error, he was as eager to court the protection of Henry II. as they had been ſolicitous to prevent the interpoſition of Francis I. Happily for him, he found Henry in a diſpoſition to liſten to the firſt overture on his part, and in a ſituation which enabled him to bring the whole force of the French monarchy into action. Henry had long obſerved the progreſs of the emperor's arms with jealouſy, and wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf by entering the liſts againſt the ſame enemy, whom it had been the glory of his father's reign to oppoſe. He had laid hold on the firſt opportunity in his power of thwarting the emperor's deſigns, by taking the duke of Parma under his protection; and hoſtilities were already begun, not only in that dutchy but in Piedmont. Having terminated the war with England by a peace, no leſs advantageous to himſelf than honourable for his allies the Scots, the reſtleſs and enterpriſing courage of his nobles was impatient to diſplay

† Sleid. 535. Thuan. lib. ix. 309, &c. Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Regn. Hungarici, lib. xvi. 189, &c. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 871. Natalis Comitis Hiſtoria, lib. iv. 84, &c.

itſelf on ſome theatre of action more conſpicuous than the petty operations in Parma or Piedmont afforded them.

John de Fienne, biſhop of Bayonne, whom Henry had ſent into Germany, under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to conclude a treaty in form with Maurice and his aſſociates. As it would have been very indecent in a king of France to have undertaken the defence of the proteſtant church, the intereſts of religion, how much ſoever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. Religious concerns, they pretended to commit entirely to the diſpoſition of Divine Providence; the only motives aſſigned for their preſent confederacy againſt Charles, were to procure the landgrave liberty, and to prevent the ſubverſion of the ancient conſtitution and laws of the German empire. In order to accompliſh theſe ends, it was agreed, that all the contracting parties ſhould, at the ſame time, declare war againſt the emperor; that neither peace nor truce ſhould be made but by common conſent, nor without including each of the confederates; that, in order to guard againſt the inconveniencies of anarchy, or of pretenſions to joint command, Maurice ſhould be acknowledged as head of the German confederates, with abſolute authority in all military affairs; that Maurice and his aſſociates ſhould bring into the field ſeven thouſand horſe, with a proportional number of infantry; that, towards the ſubſiſtence of this army, during the three firſt months of the war, Henry ſhould contribute two hundred and forty thouſand crowns, and afterwards ſixty thouſand crowns a-month, as long as they continued in arms; that Henry ſhould attack the emperor on the ſide of Lorrain with a powerful army; that if it were found requiſite to elect a new emperor, ſuch a perſon ſhould be nominated as ſhall be agreeable to the king of France †. This treaty was concluded on the fifth of October, ſome time before Magdeburg ſurrendered, and the preparatory negotiations

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were conducted with ſuch profound ſecrecy, that, of all the princes who afterwards acceded to it, Maurice communicated what he was carrying on to two only, John Albert, the reigning duke of Mecklenburg, and William of Heſſe, the landgrave's eldeſt ſon. The league itſelf was no leſs anxiouſly concealed, and with ſuch fortunate care, that no rumour concerning it reached the ears of the emperor or his miniſters; nor do they ſeem to have conceived the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of ſuch a tranſaction.

At the ſame time, with a ſolicitude which was careful to draw ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from every quarter, Maurice applied to Edward VI. of England, and requeſted a ſubſidy of four hundred thouſand crowns for the ſupport of a confederacy formed in defence of the proteſtant religion. But the factions which prevailed in the Engliſh court during the minority of that prince, and which deprived both the councils and arms of the nation of their wonted vigour, left the Engliſh miniſters neither time nor inclination to attend to foreign affairs, and prevented Maurice's obtaining that aid, which their zeal for the reformation would have prompted them to grant him ‡.

Maurice, however, having ſecured the protection of ſuch a powerful monarch as Henry II. proceeded with great confidence, but with equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it neceſſary to make one effort more, in order to obtain the emperor's conſent that the landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberty, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy, in his own name and in that of the elector of Brandenburg, to Inſpruck [Decem.] After reſuming, at great length, all the facts and arguments upon which they founded their claim, and repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the peculiar engagements which bound them to be ſo aſſiduous in their ſolicitations, they renewed their requeſt in behalf of the unfortunate priſoner, which they had ſo often preferred in vain. The elector palatine, the duke of Wurtemberg, the dukes

‡ Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. vol. ii. Append. 37.

of Mecklenburg, the duke of Deux-Ponts, the marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and the marquis of Baden, by their ambaſſadors, concurred with them in their ſuit. Letters were likewiſe delivered to the ſame effect from the king of Denmark, the duke of Bavaria, and the dukes of Lunenburg. Even the king of the Romans joined in this application, being moved with compaſſion towards the landgrave in his wretched ſituation, or influenced, perhaps, by a ſecret jealouſy of his brother's power and deſigns, which, ſince his attempt to alter the order of ſucceſſion in the empire, he had come to view with other eyes than formerly, and dreaded to a great degree.

But Charles conſtant to his own ſyſtem with regard to the landgrave, eluded a demand urged by ſuch powerful interceſſors; and having declared that he would communicate his reſolution concerning the matter to Maurice as ſoon as he arrived at Inſpruck, where he was every day expected, he did not deign to deſcend into any more particular explication of his intentions *. This application, though of no benefit to the landgrave, was of great advantage to Maurice. It ſerved to juſtify his ſubſequent proceedings, and to demonſtrate the neceſſity of employing arms in order to extort that equitable conceſſion, which his mediation or intreaty could not obtain. It was of uſe, too, to confirm the emperor in his ſecurity, as both the ſolemnity of the application, and the ſolicitude with which ſo many princes were drawn in to enforce it, led him to conclude that they placed all their hopes of reſtoring the landgrave to liberty, in gaining his conſent to diſmiſs him.

1552.] Maurice employed artifices ſtill more refined to conceal his machinations, to amuſe the emperor, and to gain time. He affected to be more ſolicitous than ever to find out ſome expedient for removing the difficulties with regard to the ſafe-conduct for the proteſtant divines appointed to attend the council, ſo that they might repair thither with-

* Sleid. 531. Thuan. lib. viii. 280.

out any apprehenſion of danger. His ambaſſadors at Trent had frequent conferences concerning this matter with the Imperial ambaſſadors in that city, and laid open their ſentiments to them with the appearance of the moſt unreſerved confidence. He was willing, at laſt, to have it believed, that he thought all differences with reſpect to this preliminary article were on the point of being adjuſted; and in order to give credit to this opinion, he commanded Melancthon, together with his brethren, to ſet out on their journey to Trent. At the ſame time, he held a cloſe correſpondence with the Imperial court at Inſpruck, and renewed on every occaſion his profeſſions not only of fidelity but of attachment to the emperor. He talked continually of his intention of going to Inſpruck in perſon; he gave orders to hire a houſe for him in that city, and to fit it up with the greateſt diſpatch for his reception§.

But profoundly ſkilled as Maurice was in the arts of deceit, and impenetrable as he thought the veil to be, under which he concealed his deſigns, there were ſeveral things in his conduct which alarmed the emperor amidſt his ſecurity, and tempted him frequently to ſuſpect that he was meditating ſomething extraordinary. As theſe ſuſpicions took their riſe from circumſtances inconſiderable in themſelves, or of an ambiguous as well as uncertain nature, they were more than counterbalanced by Maurice's addreſs; and the emperor would not, lightly, give up his confidence in a man, whom he had once truſted and loaded with favours. One particular alone ſeemed to be of ſuch conſequence, that he thought it neceſſary to demand an explanation with regard to it. The troops, which George of Mecklenburg had taken into pay after the capitulation of Magdeburg, having fixed their quarters in Thuringia, lived at diſcretion on the lands of the rich eccleſiaſtics in their neighbourhood. Their licence and rapaciouſneſs were intolerable. Such as felt or dreaded their exactions, complained loudly to the emperor, and repreſent-

§ Arnoldi vita Maurit. ap. Menken, ii. 1229.

ed them as a body of men kept in readineſs for ſome deſperate enterpriſe. But Maurice, partly by extenuating the enormities of which they had been guilty, partly by repreſenting the impoſſibility of diſbanding theſe troops, or of keeping them to regular diſcipline, unleſs the arrears ſtill due to them by the emperor were paid, either removed the apprehenſions which this had occaſioned, or, as Charles was not in a condition to ſatisfy the demands of theſe ſoldiers, obliged him to be ſilent with regard to the matter†.

The time of action was now approaching. Maurice had privately diſpatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, in order to confirm his league with Henry, and to haſten the march of the French army. He had taken meaſures to bring his own ſubjects together on the firſt ſummons; he had provided for the ſecurity of Saxony, while he ſhould be abſent with the army; and he held the troops in Thuringia, on which he chiefly depended, ready to advance on a moment's warning. All theſe complicated operations were carried on without being diſcovered by the court at Inſpruck, and the emperor remained there in perfect tranquillity, buſied entirely in counteracting the intrigues of the pope's legate at Trent, and in ſettling the conditions on which the proteſtant divines ſhould be admitted into the council, as if there had not been any tranſaction of greater moment in agitation.

This credulous ſecurity in a prince, who, by his ſagacity in obſerving the conduct of all around him, was commonly led to an exceſs of diſtruſt, may ſeem unaccountable, and has been imputed to infatuation. But beſides the exquiſite addreſs with which Maurice concealed his intentions, two circumſtances contributed to the deluſion. The gout had returned upon Charles ſoon after his arrival at Inſpruck, with an increaſe of violence; and his conſtitution being broken by ſuch frequent attacks, he was ſeldom able to exert his natural vigour of mind, or to conſider affairs with his uſual vigilance and penetration; and Granvelle, biſhop of Arras, his

† Sleid. 549. Thuan. 339.

prime miniſter, though one of the moſt ſubtle ſtateſmen of that or perhaps of any age, was on this occaſion the dupe of his craft. He entertained ſuch an high opinion of his own abilities, and held the political talents of the Germans in ſuch contempt, that he deſpiſed all the intimations given him concerning Maurice's ſecret machinations, or the dangerous deſigns which he was carrying on. When the duke of Alva, whoſe dark ſuſpicious mind harboured many doubts concerning the elector's ſincerity, propoſed calling him immediately to court to anſwer for his conduct, Granvelle replied with great ſcorn, That theſe apprehenſions were groundleſs, and that a drunken German head was too groſs to form any ſcheme which he could not eaſily penetrate and baffle. Nor did he aſſume this peremptory tone merely from confidence in his own diſcernment; he had bribed two of Maurice's miniſters, and received from them frequent and minute information concerning all their maſter's motions. But through this very channel, by which he expected to gain acceſs to all Maurice's counſels, and even to his thoughts, ſuch intelligence was conveyed to him as completed his deception. Maurice fortunately diſcovered the correſpondence of the two traitors with Granvelle, but inſtead of puniſhing them for their crime, he dexterouſly availed himſelf of their fraud, and turned his own arts againſt the biſhop. He affected to treat theſe miniſters with greater confidence than ever; he admitted them to his conſultations; he ſeemed to lay open his heart to them; and taking care all the while to let them be acquainted with nothing but what was his intereſt ſhould be known, they tranſmitted to Inſpruck ſuch accounts as poſſeſſed Granvelle with a firm belief of his ſincerity as well as good intentions*. The emperor himſelf, in the fulneſs of ſecurity, was ſo little moved by a memorial, in name of the eccleſiaſtical electors, admoniſhing him to be on his guard againſt Maurice, that he made light of this intelligence; and his anſwer to them

* Melvil's Memoirs, fol. edit. p. 12.

abounds with declarations of his entire and confident reliance on the fidelity as well as attachment of that prince‡.

At laſt Maurice's preparations were completed, and he had the ſatisfaction to find that his intrigues and deſigns were ſtill unknown. But, though now ready to take the field, he did not lay aſide the arts which he had hitherto employed; and by one piece of craft more, he deceived his enemies a few days longer. He gave out, that he was about to begin that journey to Inſpruck of which he had ſo often talked, and he took one of the miniſters whom Granvelle had bribed, to attend him thither. After travelling poſt a few ſtages, he pretended to be indiſpoſed by the fatigue of the journey, and diſpatching the ſuſpected miniſters to make his apology to the emperor for this delay, and to aſſure him that he would be at Inſpruck within a few days; he mounted on horſeback, as ſoon as this ſpy on his actions was gone, rode full ſpeed towards Thuringia, joined his army, which amounted to twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and put it immediately in motion [March 18] *.

At the ſame time he publiſhed a manifeſto containing his reaſons for taking arms. Theſe were three in number: that he might ſecure the proteſtant religion, which was threatened with immediate deſtruction; that he might maintain the conſtitution and laws of the empire, and ſave Germany from being ſubjected to the dominion of an abſolute monarch; that he might deliver the landgrave of Heſſe from the miſeries of a long and unjuſt impriſonment. By the firſt, he rouſed all the favourers of the reformation, a party formidable by their zeal as well as numbers, and rendered deſperate

‡ Sleid. 535.

* Melv. Mem. p. 13. Theſe circumſtances concerning the Saxon miniſters whom Granvelle had bribed, are not mentioned by the German hiſtorians; but as Sir James Melvil received his information from the elector Palatine, and as they are perfectly agreeable to the reſt of Maurice's conduct, they may be conſidered as authentic.

by oppreſſion. By the ſecond, he intereſted all the friends of liberty, catholics no leſs than proteſtants, and made it their intereſt to unite with him in aſſerting the rights and privileges common to both. The third, beſides the glory which he acquired by his zeal to fulfil his engagements to the unhappy priſoner, was become a cauſe of general concern, not only from the compaſſion which the landgrave's ſufferings excited, but from indignation at the injuſtice and rigour of the emperor's proceedings againſt him. Together with Maurice's manifeſto, another appeared in the name of Albert marquis of Brandenburg Culmbach, who had joined him with a body of adventurers whom he had drawn together. The ſame grievances which Maurice had pointed out are mentioned in it, but with an exceſs of virulence and animoſity ſuitable to the character of the prince in whoſe name it was publiſhed.

The king of France added to theſe a manifeſto in his own name; in which, after taking notice of the ancient alliance between the French and German nations, both deſcended from the ſame anceſtors; and after mentioning the applications which, in conſequence of this, ſome of the moſt illuſtrious among the German princes had made to him for his protection; he declared, that he now took arms to re-eſtabliſh the ancient conſtitution of the empire, to deliver ſome of its princes from captivity, and to ſecure the privileges and independence of all the members of the Germanic body. In this manifeſto, Henry aſſumed the extraordinary title of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany and of its captive Princes;* and there was engraved on it a cap, the ancient ſymbol of freedom, placed between two daggers, in order to intimate to the Germans, that this bleſſing was to be acquired and ſecured by force of arms†.

Maurice had now to act a part entirely new; but his flexible genius was capable of accommodating itſelf to every ſituation. The moment he took arms, he was as bold and

† Sleid. 549. Thuan. lib. x. 339. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 371.

enterprising in the field, as he had been cautious and crafty in the cabinet. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper Germany. All the towns in his way opened their gates to him. He reinstated the magistrates whom the emperor had deposed, and gave possession of the churches to the protestant ministers whom he had ejected. He directed his march to Augsburg, and as the Imperial garrison, which was too inconsiderable to think of defending it, retired immediately, he took possession of that great city [April 1,] and made the same changes there as in the towns through which he had passed†.

No words can express the emperor's astonishment and consternation at events so unexpected. He saw a great number of the German princes in arms against him, and the rest either ready to join them, or wishing success to their enterprise. He beheld a powerful monarch united with them in close league, seconding their operations in person at the head of a formidable army, while he, through negligence and credulity, which exposed him no less to scorn than to danger, had neither made, nor was in a condition to make, any effectual provision, either for crushing his rebellious subjects, or resisting the invasion of the foreign enemy. Part of his Spanish troops had been ordered into Hungary against the Turks; the rest had marched back to Italy upon occasion of the war in the dutchy of Parma. The bands of veteran Germans had been dismissed, because he was not able to pay them; or had entered into Maurice's service after the siege of Magdeburg; and he remained at Inspruck with a body of soldiers hardly strong enough to guard his own person. His treasury was as much exhausted, as his army was reduced. He had received no remittances for some time from the new world. He had forfeited all credit with the merchants of Genoa and Venice, who refused to lend him money, though tempted by the offer of exorbitant interest. Thus Charles, though undoubtedly the most consid-

† Sleid. 555. Thuan. 342.

rable potentate in Chriſtendom, and capable of exerting the greateſt ſtrength, his power, notwithſtanding the violent attack made upon it, being ſtill unimpaired, found himſelf in a ſituation which rendered him unable to make ſuch a ſudden and vigorous effort as the juncture required, and was neceſſary to have ſaved him from the preſent danger.

In this ſituation, the emperor placed all his hopes upon negotiating; the only reſource of ſuch as are conſcious of their own weakneſs. But thinking it inconſiſtent with his dignity to make the firſt advances to ſubjects who were in arms againſt him, he avoided that indecorum by employing the mediation of his brother Ferdinand. Maurice confiding in his own talents to conduct any negotiation in ſuch a manner as to derive advantage from it, and hoping that, by the appearance of facility in hearkening to the firſt overture of accommodation, he might amuſe the emperor, and tempt him to ſlacken the activity with which he was now preparing to defend himſelf, readily agreed to an interview with Ferdinand in the town of Lintz in Auſtria; and having left his army to proceed on its march under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg, he repaired thither.

Meanwhile the king of France punctually fulfilled his engagements to the allies. He took the field early, with a numerous and well-appointed army, and marching directly into Lorain, Toul and Verdun opened their gates at his approach. His forces appeared next before Metz, and that city, by a fraudulent ſtratagem of the conſtable Montmorency, who having obtained permiſſion to paſs through it with a ſmall guard, introduced as many troops as were ſufficient to overpower the garriſon, was likewiſe ſeized without bloodſhed. Henry made his entry into all theſe towns with great pomp; he obliged the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to him, and annexed thoſe important conqueſts to the French monarchy. He left a ſtrong garriſon in Metz. From thence he advanced towards Alſace, in order to at-

tempt new conqueſts, to which the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended his arms invited him*.

The conference at Lintz did not produce an accommodation. Maurice, when he conſented to it, ſeems to have had nothing in view but to amuſe the emperor; for he made ſuch demands, both in behalf of his confederates and their ally the French king, as he knew would not be accepted by a prince, too haughty to ſubmit, at once, to conditions dictated by an enemy. But, however firmly Maurice adhered during the negotiation to the intereſt of his aſſociates, or how ſteadily ſoever he kept in view the objects which had induced him to take arms, he often profeſſed a ſtrong inclination to terminate the differences with the emperor in an amicable manner. Encouraged by this appearance of a pacific diſpoſition, Ferdinand propoſed a ſecond interview at Paſſau on the twenty ſixth of May, and that a truce ſhould commence on that day, and continue to the tenth of June, in order to give them leiſure for adjuſting all the points in diſpute.

Upon this, Maurice rejoined his army on the ninth of May, which had now advanced to Gundelfingen. He put his troops in motion next morning; and as ſixteen days yet remained for action before the commencement of the truce, he reſolved, during that period, to venture upon an enterpriſe, the ſucceſs of which would be ſo deciſive, as to render the negotiations at Paſſau extremely ſhort, and entitle him to treat upon his own terms. He foreſaw that the proſpect of a ceſſation of arms, which was to take place ſo ſoon, together with the opinion of his earneſtneſs to re-eſtabliſh peace, with which he had artfully amuſed Ferdinand, could hardly fail of inſpiring the emperor with ſuch falſe hopes, that he would naturally become remiſs, and relapſe into ſome degree of that ſecurity which had already been ſo fatal to him. Relying on this conjecture, he marched directly at the head of his army towards Inſpruck, and advanced

* Thuan. 349.

with the moſt rapid motion that could be given to ſo great a body of troops. On the eighteenth, he arrived at Fieſſen, a poſt of great conſequence, at the entrance into the Tyroleſe. There he found a body of eight hundred men, whom the emperor had aſſembled, ſtrongly intrenched, in order to oppoſe his progreſs. He attacked them inſtantly with ſuch violence and impetuoſity, that they abandoned their lines precipitately, and, falling back on a ſecond body poſted near Ruten, communicated the panic terror with which they themſelves had been ſeized, to thoſe troops; ſo that they likewiſe took to flight, after a feeble reſiſtance.

Elated with this ſucceſs, which exceeded his moſt ſanguine hopes, Maurice preſſed forward to Ehrenbergh, a caſtle ſituated on an high and ſteep precipice, which commanded the only paſs through the mountains. As this fort had been ſurrendered to the proteſtants at the beginning of the Smalkaldic war, becauſe the garriſon was then too weak to defend it, the emperor, ſenſible of its importance, had taken care, at this juncture, to throw into it a body of troops ſufficient to maintain it againſt the greateſt army. But a ſhepherd, in purſuing a goat which had ſtrayed from his flock, having diſcovered an unknown path by which it was poſſible to aſcend to the top of the rock, came with this ſeaſonable piece of intelligence to Maurice. A ſmall band of choſen ſoldiers, under the command of George of Mecklenburg, was inſtantly ordered to follow this guide. They ſet out in the evening, and clambering up the rugged track with infinite fatigue as well as danger, they reached the ſummit unperceived; and at an hour which had been agreed on, when Maurice began the aſſault on the one ſide of the caſtle, they appeared on the other, ready to ſcale the walls, which were feeble in that place, becauſe it had been hitherto deemed inacceſſible. The garriſon, ſtruck with terror at the ſight of an enemy on a quarter where they had thought themſelves perfectly ſecure, immediately threw down their arms. Maurice, almoſt without blood

ſhed, and, which was of greater conſequence to him, without loſs of time, took poſſeſſion of a place, the reduction of which might have retarded him long, and have required the utmoſt efforts of his valour and ſkill†.

Maurice was now only two days march from Inſpruck, and without loſing a moment he ordered his infantry to advance thither, having left his cavalry, which was unſerviceable in that mountainous country, at Fieſſen, to guard the mouth of the paſs. He propoſed to advance with ſuch rapidity as to anticipate any accounts of the loſs of Ehrenbergh, and to ſurpriſe the emperor, together with his attendants, in an open town incapable of defence. But juſt as his troops began to move, a battalion of mercenaries mutinied, declaring that they would not ſtir until they had received the gratuity, which, according to the cuſtom of that age, they claimed as the recompence due to them for having taken a place by aſſault. It was with great difficulty, as well as danger, and not without ſome conſiderable loſs of time, that Maurice quieted this inſurrection, and prevailed on the ſoldiers to follow him to a place where he promiſed them ſuch rich booty as would be an ample reward for all their ſervices.

To the delay, occaſioned by this unforeſeen accident, the emperor owed his ſafety. He was informed of the approaching danger late in the evening, and knowing that nothing could ſave him but a ſpeedy flight, he inſtantly left Inſpruck, without regarding the darkneſs of the night, or the violence of the rain which happened to fall at that time; and notwithſtanding the debility occaſioned by the gout, which rendered him unable to bear any motion but that of a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking his way over the Alps, by roads almoſt impaſſable. His courtiers and attendants followed him with equal precipitation, ſome of them on ſuch horſes as they could haſtily procure, many of them on foot, and all in the utmoſt confuſion. In this

† Arnoldi vita Maurit. 123.

miſerable plight, very unlike the pomp with which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years as the conqueror of Germany, he arrived at length with his dejected train at Villach in Carinthia, and ſcarcely thought himſelf ſecure even in that remote inacceſſible corner.

Maurice entered Inſpruck a few hours after the emperor and his attendants had left it; and enraged that the prey ſhould eſcape out of his hands when he was juſt ready to ſeize it, he purſued them ſome miles; but finding it impoſſible to overtake perſons, to whom their fear gave ſpeed, he returned to the town, and abandoned all the emperor's baggage, together with that of the miniſters, to be plundered by the ſoldiers; while he preſerved untouched every thing belonging to the king of the Romans, either becauſe he had formed ſome friendly connexion with that prince, or becauſe he wiſhed to have it believed that ſuch a connexion ſubſiſted between them. As there now remained only three days to the commencement of the truce (with ſuch nicety had Maurice calculated his operations), he ſet out for Paſſau, that he might meet Ferdinand on the day appointed.

Before Charles left Inſpruck, he withdrew the guards placed on the degraded elector of Saxony, whom, during five years, he had carried about with him as a priſoner, and ſet him entirely at liberty, either with an intention to embarraſs Maurice by letting looſe a rival, who might diſpute his title to his dominions and dignity, or from a ſenſe of the indecency of detaining him a priſoner, while he himſelf run the riſk of being deprived of his own liberty. But that prince, ſeeing no other way of eſcaping than that which the emperor took, and abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of a kinſman, whom he juſtly conſidered as the author of all his misfortunes, choſe rather to accompany Charles in his flight, and to expect the final deciſion of his fate from the treaty which was now approaching.

Theſe were not the only effects which Maurice's opera-

tions produced. It was no ſooner known at Trent that he had taken arms, than a general conſternation ſeized the fathers of the council. The German prelates immediately returned home, that they might provide for the ſafety of their reſpective territories. The reſt were extremely impatient to be gone; and the legate, who had hitherto diſappointed all the endeavours of the Imperial ambaſſadors to procure an audience in the council for the proteſtant divines, laid hold with joy on ſuch a plauſible pretext for diſmiſſing an aſſembly, which he had found it ſo difficult to govern. In a congregation held on the twenty-eighth of April, a decree was iſſued proroguing the council during two years, and appointing it to meet at the expiration of that time, if peace were then re-eſtabliſhed in Europe*. This prorogation, however continued no leſs than ten years; and the proceedings of the council, when re-aſſembled in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-two, fall not within the period preſcribed to this hiſtory.

The convocation of this aſſembly had been paſſionately deſired by all the ſtates and princes in Chriſtendom, who, from the wiſdom as well as piety of prelates repreſenting the whole body of the faithful, expected ſome charitable and efficacious endeavours towards compoſing the diſſenſions which unhappily had ariſen in the church. But the ſeveral popes by whoſe authority it was called, had other objects in view. They exerted all their power or policy to attain theſe; and by the abilities as well as addreſs of their legates, by the ignorance of many of the prelates, and by the ſervility of the indigent Italian biſhops, acquired ſuch influence in the council, that they dictated all its decrees, and framed them not with an intention to reſtore unity and concord to the church, but to eſtabliſh their own dominion, or to confirm thoſe tenets, upon which they imagined that dominion to be founded. Doctrines which had hitherto been admitted upon the credit of tradition alone, and received with

* F. Paul, 353.

ſome latitude of interpretation, were defined with a ſcrupulous nicety, and confirmed by the ſanction of authority. Rites, which had formerly been obſerved only in deference to cuſtom ſuppoſed to be ancient, were eſtabliſhed by the decrees of the church, and declared to be eſſential parts of its worſhip. The breach, inſtead of being cloſed, was widened, and made irreparable. In place of any attempt to reconcile the contending parties, a line was drawn with ſuch ſtudied accuracy, as aſcertained and marked out the diſtinction between them. This ſtill ſerves to keep them at a diſtance; and without ſome ſignal interpoſition of Divine Providence, muſt render the ſeparation perpetual.

Our knowledge of the proceedings of this aſſembly, is derived from three different authors. Father Paul of Venice wrote his hiſtory of the council of Trent, while the memory of what had paſſed there was recent, and ſome who had been members of it were ſtill alive. He has expoſed the intrigues and artifices by which it was conducted, with a freedom and ſeverity which have given a deep wound to the credit of the council. He has deſcribed its deliberations, and explained its decrees, with ſuch perſpicuity and depth of thought, with ſuch various erudition and ſuch force of reaſon, as have juſtly entitled his work to be placed among the moſt admired hiſtorical compoſitions. About half a century thereafter, the Jeſuit Pallavicini publiſhed his hiſtory of the council, in oppoſition to that of Father Paul, and by employing all the force of an acute and refining genius to invalidate the credit, or to confute the reaſonings of his antagoniſt, he labours to prove, by artful apologies for the proceedings of the council, and ſubtile interpretations of its decrees, that it deliberated with impartiality, and decided with judgment as well as candour. Vargas, a Spaniſh doctor of laws, who was appointed to attend the Imperial ambaſſadors at Trent, ſent the biſhop of Arras a regular account of the tranſactions there, explaining all the arts which the legate employed to influence or overawe the council. His letters

have been publiſhed, in which he inveighs againſt the papal court with that aſperity of cenſure, which was natural to a man whoſe ſituation enabled him to obſerve its intrigues thoroughly, and who was obliged to exert all his attention and talents in order to diſappoint them. But whichſoever of theſe authors an intelligent perſon takes for his guide, in forming a judgment concerning the ſpirit of the council, he muſt diſcover ſo much ambition as well as artifice among ſome of the members; ſo much ignorance and corruption among others; he muſt obſerve ſuch a large infuſion of human policy and paſſions, mingled with ſuch a ſcanty portion of that ſimplicity of heart, ſanctity of manners, and love of truth, which alone qualify men to determine what doctrines are worthy of God, and what worſhip is acceptable to him; that he will find it no eaſy matter to believe, that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghoſt hovered over this aſſembly, and dictated its decrees.

While Maurice was employed in negotiating with the king of the Romans at Lintz, or in making war on the emperor in the Tyrol, the French king had advanced into Alſace as far as Straſburg; and having demanded leave of the ſenate to march through the city, he hoped that, by repeating the ſame fraud which he had practiſed at Metz, he might render himſelf maſter of the place, and by that means ſecure a paſſage over the Rhine into the heart of Germany. But the Straſburghers, inſtructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortune of their neighbours, ſhut their gates; and having aſſembled a garriſon of five thouſand ſoldiers, repaired their fortifications, raſed the houſes in their ſuburbs, and determined to defend themſelves to the utmoſt. At the ſame time they ſent a deputation of their moſt reſpectable citizens to the king, in order to divert him from making any hoſtile attempt upon them. The electors of Treves and Cologne, the duke of Cleves, and other princes in the neighbourhood, interpoſed in their behalf; beſeeching Henry that he would not forget ſo ſoon the title which he had gene-

rouſly aſſumed; and inſtead of being the deliverer of Germany, become its oppreſſor. The Swiſs Cantons ſeconded them with zeal, ſoliciting Henry to ſpare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendſhip and alliance.

Powerful as this united interceſſion was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of ſo much value, if he had been in a condition to have ſeized it. But, in that age, the method of ſubſiſting numerous armies at a diſtance from the frontiers of their own country, was imperfectly underſtood, and neither the revenues of princes, nor their experience in the art of war, were equal to the great and complicated efforts which ſuch an undertaking required. The French, though not far removed from their own frontier, began already to ſuffer from ſcarcity of proviſions, and had no ſufficient magazines collected to ſupport them during a ſiege which muſt neceſſarily have been of great length§. At the ſame time, the queen of Hungary, governeſs of the Low-Countries, had aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Roſſem, laid waſte Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. Theſe concurring circumſtances obliged the king, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterpriſe. But being willing to acquire ſome merit with his allies, by this retreat which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swiſs that he had taken the reſolution merely in compliance with their requeſt*; and then, after giving orders that all the horſes in his army ſhould be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of his having puſhed his conqueſt ſo far, he marched back towards Champagne.

While the French king and the main army of the confederates were thus employed, Albert of Brandenburg was entruſted with the command of a ſeparate body of eight thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries who had reſorted

§ Thuan. 351, 352.
* Sleid. 557. Brantome, tom. vii. 39.

to his ſtandard, rather from the hope of plunder, than the expectation of regular pay. That prince, ſeeing himſelf at the head of ſuch a number of deſperate adventurers, ready to follow wherever he ſhould lead them, ſoon began to diſdain a ſtate of ſubordination, and to form ſuch extravagant ſchemes of aggrandizing himſelf, as ſeldom occur, even to ambitious minds, unleſs when civil war or violent factions rouſe them to bold exertions, by alluring them with immediate hopes of ſucceſs. Full of theſe aſpiring thoughts, Albert made war in a manner very different from the other confederates. He endeavoured to ſpread the terror of his arms by the rapidity of his motions, as well as the extent and rigour of his devaſtations; he exacted contributions wherever he came, in order to amaſs ſuch a ſum of money, as would put it in his power to keep his army together; he laboured to get poſſeſſion of Nuremburg, Ulm, or ſome other of the free cities in Upper Germany, in which, as a capital, he might fix the ſeat of his power. But, finding theſe cities on their guard, and in a condition to reſiſt his attacks, he turned all his rage againſt the popiſh eccleſiaſtics, whoſe territories he plundered with ſuch wanton and mercileſs barbarity, as gave them a very unfavourable impreſſion of the ſpirit of that reformation in religion, with zeal for which he pretended to be animated. The biſhops of Bambergh and Wurzburgh, by their ſituation, lay particularly expoſed to his ravages; he obliged the former to transfer to him, in property, almoſt one half of his extenſive dioceſe; and compelled the latter to advance a great ſum of money in order to ſave his territories from ruin and deſolation. During all thoſe wild ſallies, Albert paid no regard either to Maurice's orders, whoſe commands as generaliſſimo of the league he had engaged to obey, or to the remonſtrances of the other confederates; and manifeſtly diſcovered, that he attended only to his own private emolument, without any ſolicitude about the common cauſe, or the general objects which had induced them to take arms†.

† Sleid. 561. Thuan. 357.

Maurice having ordered his army to march back into Bavaria, and having publiſhed a proclamation enjoining the Lutheran clergy and inſtructors of youth, to reſume the exerciſe of their functions, in all the cities, ſchools, and univerſities from which they had been ejected, met Ferdinand at Paſſau on the twenty ſixth day of May. As matters of the greateſt conſequence to the future peace and independence of the empire were to be ſettled in this congreſs, the eyes of all Germany were fixed upon it. Beſides Ferdinand and the Imperial ambaſſadors, the duke of Bavaria, the biſhops of Saltzburg and Aſchſtadt, the miniſters of all the electors, together with deputies from moſt of the conſiderable princes and free cities, reſorted to Paſſau. Maurice, in the name of his aſſociates, and the king of the Romans as the emperor's repreſentative, opened the negotiation. The princes who were preſent, together with the deputies of ſuch as were abſent, acted as interceſſors or mediators between them.

Maurice, in a long diſcourſe, explained the motives of his own conduct. After having enumerated all the unconſtitutional and oppreſſive acts of the emperor's adminiſtration, he, agreeably to the manifeſto which he had publiſhed when he took arms againſt him, limited his demands to three articles: That the landgrave of Heſſe ſhould be immediately ſet at liberty; that the grievances in the civil government of the empire ſhould be redreſſed; and that the proteſtants ſhould be allowed the public exerciſe of their religion without moleſtation. Ferdinand and the Imperial ambaſſadors diſcovering their unwillingneſs to gratify him with regard to all theſe points, the mediators wrote a joint letter to the emperor, beſeeching him to deliver Germany from the calamities of a civil war, by giving ſuch ſatisfaction to Maurice and his party as might induce them to lay down their arms; and at the ſame time they prevailed upon Maurice to grant a prolongation of the truce for a ſhort time, during which

they undertook to procure the emperor's final anſwer to his demands.

This requeſt was preſented to the emperor in the name of all the princes of the empire, popiſh as well as proteſtant, in the name of ſuch as had lent an helping hand to forward his ambitious ſchemes, as well as of thoſe who had viewed the progreſs of his power with jealouſy and dread. The uncommon and cordial unanimity with which they concurred at this juncture in enforcing Maurice's demands, and in recommending peace, flowed from different cauſes. Such as were moſt attached to the Roman catholic church could not help obſerving, that the proteſtant confederates were at the head of a numerous army, while the emperor was but juſt beginning to provide for his own defence. They foreſaw that great efforts would be required of them, and would be neceſſary on their part, in order to cope with enemies, who had been allowed to get the ſtart ſo far, and to attain ſuch formidable power. Experience had taught them, that the fruit of all theſe efforts would be reaped by the emperor alone, and the more complete any victory proved which they ſhould gain, the faſter would they bind their own fetters, and render them the more intolerable. Theſe reflections made them cautious how they contributed a ſecond time, by their indiſcreet zeal, to put the emperor in poſſeſſion of power which would be fatal to the liberties of their country. Notwithſtanding the intolerant ſpirit of bigotry in that age, they choſe rather that the proteſtants ſhould acquire that ſecurity for their religion which they demanded, than by aſſiſting Charles to oppreſs them, to give ſuch additional force to the Imperial prerogative, as would overturn the conſtitution of the empire. To all theſe conſiderations, the dread of ſeeing Germany laid waſte by a civil war added new force. Many ſtates of the empire already felt the deſtructive rage of Albert's arms, others dreaded it, and all wiſhed for an accommodation between the emperor and Maurice, which they hoped would ſave them from that cruel ſcourge.

Such were the reaſons that induced ſo many princes, notwithſtanding the variety of their political intereſts, and the oppoſition in their religious ſentiments, to unite in recommending to the emperor an accommodation with Maurice, not only as a ſalutary, but as a neceſſary meaſure. The motives which prompted Charles to deſire it, were not fewer or of leſs weight. He was perfectly ſenſible of the ſuperiority which the confederates had acquired through his own negligence; and he now felt the inſufficiency of his own reſources to oppoſe them. His Spaniſh ſubjects, diſguſted at his long abſence, and weary of endleſs wars, which were of little benefit to their country, refuſed to furniſh him any conſiderable ſupply either of men or money; and although by his addreſs or importunity he might have hoped to draw from them at laſt more effectual aid; that, he knew, was too diſtant to be of any ſervice in the preſent exigency of his affairs. His treaſury was drained; his veteran forces were diſperſed or diſbanded, and he could not depend much either on the fidelity or courage of the new levied ſoldiers whom he was collecting. There was no hope of repeating with ſucceſs the ſame artifices which had weakened and ruined the Smalkaldic league. As the end at which he aimed was now known, he could no longer employ the ſpecious pretexts which had formerly concealed his ambitious deſigns. Every prince in Germany was alarmed and on his guard; and it was vain to think of blinding them a ſecond time to ſuch a degree, as to make one part of them inſtruments to enſlave the other. The ſpirit of a confederacy whereof Maurice was the head, experience had taught him to be very different from that of the league of Smalkalde; and from what he had already felt, he had no reaſon to flatter himſelf that its councils would be as irreſolute, or its efforts as timid and feeble. If he ſhould reſolve on continuing the war, he might be aſſured, that the moſt conſiderable ſtates in Germany would take part in it againſt him; and a dubious neutrality was the utmoſt he could expect from the reſt. While the confede-

rates found full employment for his arms in one quarter, the king of France would ſeize the favourable opportunity, and puſh on his operations in another, with almoſt certain ſucceſs. That monarch had already made conqueſts in the empire, which Charles was no leſs eager to recover, than impatient to be revenged on him for aiding his malecontent ſubjects. Though Henry had now retired from the banks of the Rhine, he had only varied the ſcene of hoſtilities, having invaded the Low-Countries with all his forces. The Turks rouſed by the ſolicitations of the French king, as well as ſtimulated by reſentment againſt Ferdinand for having violated the truce in Hungary, had prepared a powerful fleet to ravage the coaſts of Naples and Sicily, which he had left almoſt defenceleſs, by calling thence the greateſt part of the regular troops to join the army which he was now aſſembling.

Ferdinand, who went in perſon to Villach, in order to lay before the emperor the reſult of the conferences at Paſſau, had likewiſe reaſons peculiar to himſelf for deſiring an accommodation. Theſe prompted him to ſecond, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, the arguments which the princes aſſembled there had employed in recommending it. He had obſerved, not without ſecret ſatisfaction, the fatal blow that had been given to the deſpotic power which his brother had uſurped in the empire. He was extremely ſolicitous to prevent Charles from recovering his former ſuperiority, as he foreſaw that ambitious prince would immediately reſume, with increaſed eagerneſs, and with a better chance of ſucceſs, his favourite ſcheme of tranſmitting that power to his ſon, by excluding his brother from the right of ſucceſſion to the Imperial throne. On this account he was willing to contribute towards circumſcribing the Imperial authority, in order to render his own poſſeſſion of it certain. Beſides, Solyman, exaſperated at the loſs of Tranſylvania, and ſtill more at the fraudulent arts by which it had been ſeized, had ordered into the field an army of an hundred thouſand men, which having defeated a great body of Ferdinand's

troops and taken ſeveral places of importance, threatened not only to complete the conqueſt of the province, but to drive them out of that part of Hungary which was ſtill ſubject to his juriſdiction. He was unable to reſiſt ſuch a mighty enemy; the emperor, while engaged in a domeſtic war, could afford him no aid; and he could not even hope to draw from Germany the contingent, either of troops or money, uſually furniſhed to repel the invaſions of the Infidels. Maurice, having obſerved Ferdinand's perplexity with regard to this laſt point, had offered, if peace were reeſtabliſhed on a ſecure foundation, that he would march in perſon with his troops into Hungary againſt the Turks. Such was the effect of this well-timed propoſal, that Ferdinand, deſtitute of every other proſpect of relief, became the moſt zealous advocate whom the confederates could have employed to urge their claims, and there was hardly any thing that they could have demanded which he would not have choſen to grant, rather than have retarded a pacification, to which he truſted as the only means of ſaving his Hungarian crown.

When ſo many cauſes conſpired in rendering an accommodation eligible, it might have been expected that it would have taken place immediately. But the inflexibility of the emperor's temper, together with his unwillingneſs at once to relinquiſh objects which he had long purſued with ſuch earneſtneſs and aſſiduity, counterbalanced, for ſome time the force of all the motives which diſpoſed him to peace, and not only put that event at a diſtance, but ſeemed to render it uncertain. When Maurice's demands, together with the letter of the mediators at Paſſau, were preſented to him, he peremptorily refuſed to redreſs the grievances which were pointed out, nor would he agree to any ſtipulation for the immediate ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, but propoſed referring both theſe to the determination of a future diet. On his part, he required that inſtant reparation ſhould be made to all who, during the preſent war, had ſuffered either

by the licentiouſneſs of the confederate troops, or the exactions of their leaders.

Maurice, who was well acquainted with the emperor's arts, immediately concluded that he had nothing in view by theſe overtures but to amuſe and deceive; and therefore, without liſtening to Ferdinand's intreaties, he left Paſſau abruptly, and joining his troops, which were encamped at Mergentheim, a city in Franconia, belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order, he put them in motion, and renewed hoſtilities. As three thouſand men in the emperor's pay had thrown themſelves into Frankfort on the Maine, and might from thence infeſt the neighbouring country of Heſſe, he marched towards that city, and laid ſiege to it in form [July 17]. The briſkneſs of this enterpriſe, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches againſt the town, gave ſuch an alarm to the emperor, as diſpoſed him to lend a more favourable ear to Ferdinand's arguments in behalf of an accommodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it neceſſary to bend, and ſignified his willingneſs to make conceſſions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate ſomewhat of the rigour of his demands. Ferdinand, as ſoon as he perceived that his brother began to yield, did not deſiſt from his importunities, until he prevailed on him to declare what was the utmoſt that he would grant for the ſecurity of the confederates. Having gained this difficult point, he inſtantly diſpatched a meſſenger to Maurice's camp, and imparting to him the emperor's final reſolution, conjured him not to fruſtrate his endeavours for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace; or, by an unſeaſonable obſtinacy on his ſide, to diſappoint the wiſhes of all Germany for that ſalutary event.

Maurice notwithſtanding the proſperous ſituation of his affairs, was ſtrongly inclined to liſten to this advice. The emperor, though over-reached and ſurpriſed, had now begun to aſſemble troops, and however ſlow his motions might be, while the firſt effects of his conſternation remained, he

was ſenſible that Charles muſt at laſt act with vigour proportional to the extent of his power and territories, and lead into Germany an army formidable by its numbers, and ſtill more by the terror of his name, as well as the remembrance of his paſt victories. He could ſcarcely hope that a confederacy compoſed of ſo many members would continue to operate with union and perſeverance ſufficient to reſiſt the conſiſtent and well-directed efforts of an army, at the abſolute diſpoſal of a leader accuſtomed to command and to conquer. He felt, already, although he had not hitherto experienced the ſhock of any adverſe event, that he himſelf was at the head of a disjointed body. He ſaw, from the example of Albert of Brandenburg, how difficult it would be, with all his addreſs and credit, to prevent any particular member from detaching himſelf from the whole, and how impoſſible to recal him to his proper rank and ſubordination. This filled him with apprehenſions for the common cauſe. Another conſideration gave him no leſs diſquiet with regard to his own particular intereſts. By ſetting at liberty the degraded elector, and by repealing the act by which that prince was deprived of his hereditary honours and dominions, the emperor had it in his power to wound him in the moſt tender part. The efforts of a prince beloved by his ancient ſubjects, and revered by all the proteſtant party, in order to recover what had been unjuſtly taken from him, could hardly have failed of exciting commotions in Saxony, which would endanger all that he had acquired at the expence of ſo much diſſimulation and artifice. It was no leſs in the emperor's power to render vain all the ſolicitations of the confederates in behalf of the landgrave. He had only to add one act of violence more to the injuſtice and rigour with which he had already treated him; and he had accordingly threatened the ſons of that unfortunate prince, that if they perſiſted in their preſent enterpriſe, inſtead of ſeeing their father reſtored to liberty, they ſhould hear of his having ſuffered the puniſhment which his rebellion had merited*.

* Sleid. 571.

Having deliberated upon all theſe points with his aſſociates, Maurice thought it more prudent to accept of the conditions offered, though leſs advantageous than thoſe which he had propoſed, than again to commit all to the doubtful iſſue of war†. He repaired forthwith to Paſſau, and ſigned the treaty of peace; of which the chief articles were, That before the twelfth day of Auguſt, the confederates ſhall lay down their arms, and diſband their forces; That on or before that day the landgrave ſhall be ſet at liberty, and conveyed in ſafety to his caſtle of Rheinfels; That a diet ſhall be held within ſix months [Auguſt 2], in order to deliberate concerning the moſt proper and effectual method of preventing for the future all diſputes and diſſenſions about religion; That in the mean time, neither the emperor, nor any other prince, ſhall upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to ſuch as adhered to the confeſſion of Augſburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undiſturbed exerciſe of their religion; That, in return, the proteſtants ſhall not moleſt the catholics either in the exerciſe of their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; That the Imperial chamber ſhall adminiſter juſtice impartially to perſons of both parties, and proteſtants be admitted indiſcriminately with the catholics to ſit as judges in that court; That if the next diet ſhould not be able to terminate the diſputes with regard to religion, the ſtipulations in the preſent treaty in behalf of the proteſtants ſhall continue for ever in full force and vigour; That none of the confederates ſhall be liable to any action on account of what had happened during the courſe of the war; That the conſideration of thoſe encroachments which had been made, as Maurice pretended, upon the conſtitution and liberties of the empire*, ſhall be remitted to the approaching diet; That Albert of Brandenburg ſhall be com-

† Sleid. Hiſt. 563, &c. Thuan. lib. x. 359, &c.
* Recueil des Traitez, ii. 261.

prehended in the treaty, provided he ſhall accede to it, and diſband his forces before the twelfth of Auguſt.

Such was the memorable treaty of Paſſau, that overturned the vaſt fabric, in erecting which Charles had employed ſo many years, and had exerted the utmoſt efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority abſolute and hereditary in his family; and eſtabliſhed the proteſtant church, which had hitherto ſubſiſted precariouſly in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and ſecure baſis. Maurice reaped all the glory of having concerted and completed this unexpected revolution. It is a ſingular circumſtance, that the reformation ſhould be indebted for its ſecurity and full eſtabliſhment in Germany, to the ſame hand which had brought it to the brink of deſtruction, and that both events ſhould have been accompliſhed by the ſame arts of diſſimulation. The ends, however, which Maurice had in view, at thoſe different junctures, ſeem to have been more attended to than the means by which he attained them; and he was now as univerſally extolled for his zeal and public ſpirit as he had lately been condemned for his indifference and intereſted policy. It is no leſs worthy of obſervation, that the French king, a monarch zealous for the catholic faith, ſhould employ his power in order to protect and maintain the reformation in the empire, at the very time when he was perſecuting his own proteſtant ſubjects with all the fierceneſs of bigotry, and that the league for this purpoſe, which proved ſo fatal to the Romiſh church, ſhould be negotiated and ſigned by a Roman catholic biſhop. So wonderfully doth the wiſdom of God ſuperintend and regulate the caprice of human paſſions, and render them ſubſervient towards the accompliſhment of his own purpoſes.

Little attention was paid to the intereſts of the French king during the negotiations at Paſſau. Maurice and his aſſociates, having gained what they had in view, diſcovered

no great ſolicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they reckoned to be overpaid for the aſſiſtance which he had given them, by his acquiſitions in Lorrain. A ſhort clauſe which they procured to be inſerted in the treaty, importing that the king of France might communicate to the confederates his particular pretenſions or cauſes of hoſtility, which they would lay before the emperor, was the only ſign that they gave of their remembering how much they had been indebted to him for their ſucceſs. Henry experienced the ſame treatment which every prince who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war may expect. As ſoon as the rage of faction began to ſubſide, and any proſpect of accommodation to open, his ſervices were forgotten, and his aſſociates made a merit with their ſovereign, of the ingratitude with which they abandoned their protector. But how much ſoever Henry might be enraged at the perfidy of his allies, or at the impatience with which they haſtened to make their peace with the emperor, at his expence, he was perfectly ſenſible that it was more his intereſt to keep well with the Germanic body, than to reſent the indignities offered him by any particular members of it. For that reaſon he diſmiſſed the hoſtages which he had received from Maurice and his aſſociates, and affected to talk in the ſame ſtrain as formerly, concerning his zeal for maintaining the ancient conſtitution and liberties of the empire.

BOOK XI.

As ſoon as the treaty of Paſſau was ſigned, Maurice in conſequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, marched into Hungary with twenty thouſand men [Aug. 3.] But the great ſuperiority of the Turkiſh armies, the frequent mutinies both of the Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, occaſioned by their want of pay, together with the diſſenſions between

Maurice and Caſtaldo, who was piqued at being obliged to reſign the chief command to him, prevented his performing any thing in that country ſuitable to his former fame, or of great benefit to the king of the Romans*.

When Maurice ſet out for Hungary, the prince of Heſſe parted from him with the forces under his command, and marched back into his own country, that he might be ready to receive his father upon his return, and give up to him the reins of government which he had held during his abſence. But fortune was not yet weary of perſecuting the landgrave. A battalion of mercenary troops, which had been in the pay of Heſſe, being ſeduced by Reifenberg, their colonel, a ſoldier of fortune, ready to engage in any enterpriſe, ſecretly withdrew from the young prince as he was marching homewards, and joined Albert of Brandenburg, who ſtill continued in arms againſt the emperor, refuſing to be included in the treaty of Paſſau. Unhappily for the landgrave, an account of this reached the Netherlands, juſt as he was diſmiſſed from the citadel of Mechlin, where he had been confined, but before he had got beyond the frontiers of that country. The queen of Hungary, who governed there in her brother's name, incenſed at ſuch an open violation of the treaty to which he owed his liberty, iſſued orders to arreſt him, and committed him again to the cuſtody of the ſame Spaniſh captain who had guarded him for five years with the moſt ſevere vigilance. Philip beheld all the horrors of his impriſonment renewed, and his ſpirits ſubſiding in the ſame proportion as they had riſen during the ſhort interval in which he had enjoyed liberty; he ſunk into deſpair, and believed himſelf to be doomed to perpetual captivity†. But the matter being ſo explained to the emperor, as fully ſatisfied him that the revolt of Reifenberg's mercenaries could be imputed neither to the landgrave nor to his ſon, he gave orders for his releaſe; and Philip at laſt ob-

* Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Hungar. 288. Thuan. lib. x. 371.
† Sleid. 573. Belcarii Comment. 834.

tained the liberty for which he had ſo long languiſhed. But though he recovered his freedom, and was reinſtated in his dominions, his ſufferings ſeem to have broken the vigour, and to have extinguiſhed the activity of his mind: from being the boldeſt as well as moſt enterpriſing prince in the empire, he became the moſt timid and cautious, and paſſed the remainder of his days in a pacific indolence.

The degraded elector of Saxony, likewiſe, procured his liberty in conſequence of the treaty of Paſſau. The emperor having been obliged to relinquiſh all his ſchemes for extirpating the proteſtant religion, had no longer any motive for detaining him a priſoner; and being extremely ſolicitous, at that juncture, to recover the confidence and good-will of the Germans, whoſe aſſiſtance was eſſential to the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe which he meditated againſt the king of France, he, among other expedients for that purpoſe, thought of releaſing from impriſonment a prince whoſe merit entitled him no leſs to eſteem, than his ſufferings rendered him the object of compaſſion. John Frederick took poſſeſſion accordingly of that part of his territories which had been reſerved for him, when Maurice was inveſted with the electoral dignity. As in this ſituation he continued to diſplay the ſame virtuous magnanimity for which he had been conſpicuous in a more proſperous and ſplendid ſtate, and which he had retained amidſt all his ſufferings, he maintained during the remainder of his life that high reputation to which he had ſo juſt a title.

The loſs of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, had made a deep impreſſion on the emperor. Accuſtomed to terminate all his operations againſt France with advantage to himſelf, he thought that it nearly concerned his honour not to allow Henry the ſuperiority in this war, or to ſuffer his own adminiſtration to be ſtained with the infamy of having permitted territories of ſuch conſequence to be diſmembered from the empire. This was no leſs a point of intereſt than of honour. As the frontier of Champagne was more naked, and

lay more expoſed than that of any province in France, Charles had frequently, during his wars with that kingdom, made inroads upon that quarter with great ſucceſs and effect; but if Henry were allowed to retain his late conqueſts, France would gain ſuch a formidable barrier on that ſide, as to be altogether ſecure, where formerly ſhe had been weakeſt. On the other hand, the empire had now loſt as much, in point of ſecurity, as France had acquired; and being ſtripped of the defence which thoſe cities afforded it, lay open to be invaded on a quarter, where all the towns having been hitherto conſidered as interior, and remote from any enemy, were but ſlightly fortified. Theſe conſiderations determined Charles to attempt recovering the three towns of which Henry had made himſelf maſter; and the preparations which he had made againſt Maurice and his aſſociates, enabled him to carry his reſolution into immediate execution.

As ſoon, then, as the peace was concluded at Paſſau, he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augſburg, at the head of a conſiderable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To theſe he added ſeveral battalions, which having been in the pay of the confederates entered into his ſervice when diſmiſſed by them; and he prevailed likewiſe on ſome princes of the empire to join him with their vaſſals. In order to conceal the deſtination of this formidable army, and to guard againſt alarming the French king, ſo as to put him on preparing for the defence of his late conqueſts, he gave out that he was to march forthwith into Hungary, in order to ſecond Maurice in his operations againſt the infidels. When he began to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he tried a new artifice, and ſpread a report, that he took this rout in order to chaſtiſe Albert of Brandenburg, whoſe cruel exactions in that part of the empire called loudly for his interpoſition to check them.

But the French having grown acquainted, at laſt, with arts by which they had been ſo often deceived, viewed all Charles's motions with diſtruſt. Henry immediately diſcerned the true object of his vaſt preparations, and reſolved to defend the important conqueſts which he had gained with vigour equal to that with which they were about to be attacked. As he foreſaw that the whole weight of the war would be turned againſt Metz, by whoſe fate that of Toul and Verdun would be determined, he nominated Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guiſe, to take the command in that city during the ſiege, the iſſue of which would equally affect the honour and intereſt of his country. His choice could not have fallen upon any perſon more worthy of that truſt. The duke of Guiſe poſſeſſed, in a high degree, all the talents of courage, ſagacity, and preſence of mind, which render men eminent in military command. He was largely endowed with that magnanimity of ſoul which delights in bold enterpriſes, and aſpires to fame by ſplendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous ſtation aſſigned him, as to a theatre on which he might diſplay his great qualities under the immediate eye of his countrymen, all ready to applaud him. The martial genius of the French nobility in that age, which conſidered it as the greateſt reproach to remain inactive, when there was any opportunity of ſignaliſing their courage, prompted great numbers to follow a leader who was the darling as well as the pattern of every one that courted military fame. Several princes of the blood, many noblemen of the higheſt rank, and all the young officers who could obtain the king's permiſſion, entered Metz as volunteers. By their preſence they added ſpirit to the garriſon, and enabled the duke of Guiſe to employ, on every emergency, perſons eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and fit to conduct any ſervice.

But with whatever alacrity the duke of Guiſe undertook the defence of Metz, he found every thing upon his arrival there, in ſuch a ſituation, as might have induced any perſon

of leſs intrepid courage to deſpair of defending it with ſucceſs. The city was of great extent, with large ſuburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; the ditch narrow; and the old towers, which projected inſtead of baſtions, were at too great diſtance from each other to defend the ſpace between them. For all theſe defects he endeavoured to provide the beſt remedy which the time would permit. He ordered the ſuburbs, without ſparing the monaſteries or churches, not even that of St. Arnulph, in which ſeveral kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but in order to guard againſt the imputation of impiety, to which ſuch a violation of ſo many ſacred edifices, as well as of the aſhes of the dead, might expoſe him, he executed this with much religious ceremony. Having ordered all the holy veſtments and utenſils, together with the bones of the kings, and other perſons depoſited in theſe churches, to be removed, they were carried in ſolemn proceſſion to a church within the walls, he himſelf walking before them bare-headed, with a torch in his hand. He then pulled down ſuch houſes as ſtood near the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was neceſſary that all theſe works ſhould be finiſhed with the utmoſt expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands: the officers and volunteers imitated his example, and the ſoldiers ſubmitted with cheerfulneſs to the moſt ſevere and fatiguing ſervice, when they ſaw that their ſuperiors did not decline to bear a part in it. At the ſame time he compelled all uſeleſs perſons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with proviſions and military ſtores; he burnt the mills, and deſtroyed the corn and forage for ſeveral miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his arts of acquiring an aſcendant over the minds of men, that the citizens ſeconded him with no leſs ardour than the ſoldiers; and every other paſſion being ſwallowed up in the zeal to repulſe the enemy, with which he inſpired them, they beheld the ruin of their e-

ſtates, together with the havock which he made among their public and private buildings, without any motion of reſentment †.

Meantime the emperor having collected all his forces, continued his march towards Metz. As he paſſed thro' the cities on the Rhine, he ſaw the diſmal effects of that licentious and waſteful war which Albert had carried on in theſe parts. Upon his approach, that prince, though at the head of twenty thouſand men, withdrew into Lorrain, as if he had intended to join the French king, whoſe arms he had quartered with his own in all his ſtandards and enſigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the Imperial troops ‡, which amounted at leaſt to ſixty thouſand men, forming one of the moſt numerous and beſt appointed armies which had been brought into the field during that age, in any of the wars among Chriſtian princes.

The chief command, under the emperor, was committed to the duke of Alva, aſſiſted by the marquis de Marignano, together with the moſt experienced of the Italian and Spaniſh generals. As it was now towards the end of October, theſe intelligent officers repreſented the great danger of beginning, at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon, a ſiege which could not fail to prove very tedious. But Charles adhered to his own opinion with his uſual obſtinacy, and being confident that he had made ſuch preparations, and taken ſuch precautions, as would enſure ſucceſs, he ordered the city to be inveſted. As ſoon as the duke of Alva appeared [Oct. 19], a large body of the French ſallied out and attacked his van-guard with great vigour, put it in confuſion, and killed or took priſoners a conſiderable number of men. By this early ſpecimen which they gave of the conduct of their officers, as well as the valour of their troops, they ſhewed the Imperialiſts what an enemy they had to encounter, and how dear every advantage muſt coſt them. The place, however, was completely inveſted, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

† Thuan. xi. 387. ‡ Natal. Comitis, Hiſt. 127.

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The attention both of the beſiegers and beſieged was turned for ſome time towards Albert of Brandenburg, and they ſtrove with emulation which ſhould gain that prince, who ſtill hovered in the neighbourhood, fluctuating in all the uncertainty of irreſolution, natural to a man, who, being ſwayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of intereſt. The French tempted him with offers extremely beneficial; the Imperialiſts ſcrupled at no promiſe which they thought could allure him. After much heſitation he was gained by the emperor, from whom he expected to receive advantages which were both more immediate and more permanent. As the French king, who began to ſuſpect his intentions, had appointed a body of troops under the duke of Aumale, brother to the duke of Guiſe, to watch his motions, Albert fell upon them unexpectedly with ſuch vigour that he routed them entirely [Nov. 4], killed many of the officers, wounded Aumale himſelf, and took him priſoner. Immediately after this victory, he marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his army to that of the emperor. Charles, in reward for this ſervice, and the great acceſſion of ſtrength which he brought him, granted Albert a formal pardon of all paſt offences, and confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of the territories which he had violently uſurped during the war†.

The duke of Guiſe, though deeply affected with his brother's misfortune, did not remit, in any degree, the vigour with which he defended the town. He haraſſed the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, in which his officers were ſo eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, that his authority being hardly ſufficient to reſtrain the impetuoſity of their courage, he was obliged at different times to ſhut the gates, and to conceal the keys, in order to prevent the princes of the blood, and noblemen of the firſt rank, from expoſing themſelves to danger in every ſally. He repaired in the night what the enemy's artillery had beat down during the day, or erected be-

† Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389, 392.

hind the ruined works new fortifications of almoſt equal ſtrength. The Imperialiſts, on their part, puſhed on the attack with great ſpirit, and carried forward, at once, approaches againſt different parts of the town. But the art of attacking fortified places was not then arrived at that degree of perfection to which it was carried towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, during the long war in the Netherlands. The beſiegers, after the unwearied labour of many weeks, found that they had made but little progreſs; and although their batteries had made breaches in different places, they ſaw, to their aſtoniſhment, works ſuddenly appear, in demoliſhing which their fatigues and dangers would be renewed. The emperor, enraged at the obſtinate reſiſtance which his army met with, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and though ſtill ſo infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp [Nov. 26]; that, by his preſence, he might animate the ſoldiers, and urge on the attack with greater ſpirit. Upon his arrival, new batteries were erected, and new efforts were made with redoubled ardour.

But, by this time, winter had ſet in with great rigour; the camp was alternately deluged with rain or covered with ſnow; at the ſame time proviſions were become extremely ſcarce, as a body of French cavalry which hovered in the neighbourhood, often interrupted the convoys, or rendered their arrival difficult and uncertain. Diſeaſes began to ſpread among the ſoldiers, eſpecially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccuſtomed to ſuch inclement weather; great numbers were diſabled from ſerving, and many died. At length ſuch breaches were made as ſeemed practicable, and Charles reſolved to hazard a general aſſault, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of his generals againſt the imprudence of attacking a numerous garriſon, conducted and animated by the moſt gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diſeaſes, and diſheartened with ill ſucceſs. The duke of Guiſe, ſuſpecting the emperor's intentions from the extraor-

dinary movements which he obſerved in the enemy's camp, ordered all his troops to their reſpective poſts. They appeared immediately on the walls, and behind the breaches, with ſuch a determined countenance, ſo eager for the combat, and ſo well prepared to give the aſſailants a warm reception, that the Imperialiſts, inſtead of advancing to the charge when the word of command was given, ſtood motionleſs in a timid dejected ſilence. The emperor, perceiving that he could not truſt troops whoſe ſpirits were ſo much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, complaining that he was now deſerted by his ſoldiers, who deſerved no longer the name of men†.

Deeply as this behaviour of his troops mortified and affected Charles, he would not hear of abandoning the ſiege, though he ſaw the neceſſity of changing the method of attack. He ſuſpended the fury of his batteries, and propoſed to proceed by the more ſecure but tedious method of ſapping. But as it ſtill continued to rain or to ſnow almoſt inceſſantly, ſuch as were employed in this ſervice endured incredible hardſhips: and the duke of Guiſe, whoſe induſtry was not inferior to his valour, diſcovering all their mines, counter-worked them, and prevented their effect. At laſt, Charles finding it impoſſible to contend any longer with the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force, nor ſubdue by art, while at the ſame time a contagious diſtemper raged among his troops, and cut off daily great numbers of the officers as well as ſoldiers, yielded to the ſolicitations of his generals, who conjured him to ſave the remains of his army by a timely retreat; "Fortune," ſays he, "I now perceive, reſembles other females, and chuſes to confer her favours on young men, while ſhe turns her back on thoſe who are advanced in years."

Upon this, he gave orders immediately to raiſe the ſiege [Dec. 26], and ſubmitted to the diſgrace of abandoning

† Thuan. 397.

the enterprise, after having continued fifty-six days before the town, during which time he had lost upwards of thirty thousand men, who died of diseases, or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guise, as soon as he perceived the intention of the Imperialists, sent out several bodies both of cavalry and infantry to infest their rear, to pick up stragglers, and to seize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confusion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have harassed them in the most cruel manner. But when they sallied out, a spectacle presented itself to their view, which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into tenderness and compassion. The Imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to escape, beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no farther, to perish without assistance. This they received from their enemies, and were indebted to them for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guise immediately ordered proper refreshments for such as were dying of hunger; he appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded; he removed such as could bear it to the adjacent villages; and those who would have suffered by being carried so far, he admitted into the hospitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own soldiers. As soon as they recovered, he sent them home under an escort of soldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By these acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and ferocity than at present, the duke of Guise completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and successful defence of Metz, and engaged those whom he had vanquished to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name†.

† Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389, &c. Pere Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. iii. 392. Pere Daniel's account of this siege is ta-

To theſe calamities in Germany, were added ſuch unfortunate events in Italy as rendered this the moſt diſaſtrous year in the emperor's life. During his reſidence at Villach, Charles had applied to Coſmo di Medici for the loan of two hundred thouſand crowns. But his credit at that time was ſo low, that in order to obtain this inconſiderable ſum, he was obliged to put him in poſſeſſion of the principality of Piombino, and by giving up that, he loſt the footing which he had hitherto maintained in Tuſcany, and enabled Coſmo to aſſume, for the future, the tone and deportment of a prince altogether independent. Much about the time that his indigence conſtrained him to part with this valuable territory, he loſt Sienna, which was of ſtill greater conſequence, thro' the ill conduct of Don Diego de Mendoza†.

Sienna, like moſt of the great cities in Italy, had long enjoyed a republican government, under the protection of the empire; but being torn in pieces by the diſſenſions between the nobility and the people, which divided all the Italian commonwealths, the faction of the people, which gained the aſcendant, beſought the emperor to become the guardian of the adminiſtration which they had eſtabliſhed, and admitted into their city a ſmall body of Spaniſh ſoldiers, whom he had ſent to countenance the execution of the laws, and to preſerve tranquillity among them. The command of theſe troops was given to Mendoza, at that time ambaſſador for the emperor at Rome, who perſuaded the credulous multitude, that it was neceſſary for their ſecurity againſt any future attempt of the nobles, to allow him to build a citadel in Sienna; and as he flattered himſelf that by means of this fortreſs he might render the emperor maſter of the city, he puſhed on the works with all poſſible diſpatch. But he threw off the maſk too ſoon. Before the fortifications were completed, he began to indulge his natural haughtineſs and ſeve-

ken from the journal of the Sieur de Salignac, who was preſent. Natal. Comit. Hiſt. 129.

† Thuan. lib. xi. 376.

ity of temper, and to treat the citizens with great inſolence. At the ſame time the ſoldiers in garriſon being paid as irregularly as the emperor's troops uſually were, lived almoſt at diſcretion upon the inhabitants, and were guilty of many acts of licence and oppreſſion.

Theſe injuries awakened the Sienneſe to a ſenſe of their danger. As they ſaw the neceſſity of exerting themſelves, while the unfiniſhed fortifications of the citadel left them any hopes of ſucceſs, they applied to the French ambaſſador at Rome, who readily promiſed them his maſter's protection and aſſiſtance. At the ſame time, forgetting their domeſtic animoſities when ſuch a mortal blow was aimed at the liberty and exiſtence of the republic, they ſent agents to the exiled nobles, and invited them to concur with them in ſaving their country from the ſervitude with which it was threatened. As there was not a moment to loſe, meaſures were concerted ſpeedily, but with great prudence; and were executed with equal vigour. The citizens roſe ſuddenly in arms; the exiles flocked into the town from different parts with all their partiſans, and what troops they could draw together; and ſeveral bodies of mercenaries in the pay of France appeared to ſupport them. The Spaniards, though ſurpriſed, and much inferior in number, defended themſelves with great courage; but ſeeing no proſpect of relief, and having no hopes of maintaining their ſtation long in a half-finiſhed fortreſs, they ſoon gave it up. The Sienneſe, with the utmoſt alacrity, levelled it with the ground, that no monument might remain of that odious ſtructure, which had been raiſed in order to enſlave them. At the ſame time renouncing all connection with the emperor, they ſent ambaſſadors to thank the king of France as the reſtorer of their liberty, and to entreat that he would ſecure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that bleſſing, by continuing his protection to their republic†.

† Pecci Memorie de Sienna, vol. iii. p. 230, 261. Thuan. 375, 377, &c. Paruta. Hiſt. Venet 267. Mem. de Ribier, 424, &c.

To theſe misfortues, one ſtill more fatal had almoſt ſucceeded. The ſevere adminiſtration of Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, having filled that kingdom with murmuring and diſaffection, the prince of Salerno, the head of the malecontents, had fled to the court of France, where all who bore ill-will to the emperor or his miniſters were ſure of finding protection and aſſiſtance. That nobleman, in the uſual ſtyle of exiles, boaſting much of the number and power of his partiſans, and of his great influence with them, prevailed on Henry to think of invading Naples, from an expectation of being joined by all thoſe with whom the prince of Salerno held correſpondence, or who were diſſatisfied with Toledo's government. But though the firſt hint of this enterpriſe was ſuggeſted by the prince of Salerno, Henry did not chuſe that its ſucceſs ſhould entirely depend upon his being able to fulfil the promiſes which he had made. He applied for aid to Solyman, whom he courted, after his father's example, as his moſt vigorous auxiliary againſt the emperor, and ſolicited him to ſecond his operations, by ſending a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean. It was not difficult to obtain what he requeſted of the ſultan, who, at this time, was highly incenſed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, on account of the proceedings in Hungary. He ordered an hundred and fifty ſhips to be equipped, that they might ſail towards the coaſt of Naples, at whatever time Henry ſhould name, and might co-operate with the French troops in their attempts upon that kingdom. The command of this fleet was given to the corſair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbaroſſa, and ſcarcely inferior to his maſter in courage, in talents, or in good fortune. He appeared on the coaſt of Calabria at the time which had been agreed on, landed at ſeveral places, plundered and burnt ſeveral villages, and at laſt, caſting anchor in the bay of Naples, filled that city with conſternation. But as the French fleet, detained by ſome accident, which the contemporary hiſtorians have not explained, did not join the Turks

according to concert, they after waiting twenty days, without hearing any tidings of it, ſet ſail for Conſtantinople, and thus delivered the viceroy of Naples from the terror of an invaſion, which he was not in a condition to have reſiſted*.

1553.] As the French had never given ſo ſevere a check to the emperor in any former campaign, they expreſſed immoderate joy at the ſucceſs of their arms. Charles himſelf, accuſtomed to a long ſeries of proſperity, felt the calamity moſt ſenſibly, and retired from Metz into the Low-Countries, much dejected with the cruel reverſe of fortune which affected him in his declining age, when the violence of the gout had increaſed to ſuch a pitch, as entirely broke the vigour of his conſtitution, and rendered him peeviſh, difficult of acceſs, and often incapable of applying to buſineſs. But whenever he enjoyed any interval of eaſe, all his thoughts were bent on revenge; and he deliberated, with the greateſt ſolicitude, concerning the moſt proper means of annoying France, and of effacing the ſtain which had obſcured the reputation and glory of his arms. All the ſchemes concerning Germany, which had engroſſed him ſo long, being diſconcerted by the peace of Paſſau, the affairs of the empire became only ſecondary objects of attention, and enmity to France was the predominant paſſion which chiefly occupied his mind.

The turbulent ambition of Albert of Brandenburg excited violent commotions, which diſturbed the empire during this year. That prince's troops having ſhared in the calamities of the ſiege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number. But the emperor, prompted by gratitude for his diſtinguiſhed ſervices on that occaſion, or perhaps with a ſecret view of fomenting diviſions among the princes of the empire, having paid up all the money due to him, he was enabled with that ſum to hire ſo many of the ſoldiers diſmiſſed from the Imperial army, that he was ſoon at the head of a body of men as numerous as ever. The biſhops of

* Thuan. 375, 380. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 403. Gianone.

Bamberg and Wurtzburg having ſolicited the Imperial chamber to annul, by its authority, the iniquitous conditions which Albert had compelled them to ſign, that court unanimouſly found all their engagements with him to be void in their own nature, becauſe they had been extorted by force; enjoined Albert to renounce all claim to the performance of them; and, if he ſhould perſiſt in ſuch an unjuſt demand, exhorted all the princes of the empire to take arms againſt him as a diſturber of the public tranquillity. To this deciſion, Albert oppoſed the confirmation of his tranſactions with the two prelates, which the emperor had granted him as the reward of his having joined the Imperial army at Metz; and in order to intimidate his antagoniſts, as well as to convince them of his reſolution not to relinquiſh his pretenſions, he put his troops in motion, that he might ſecure the territory in queſtion. Various endeavours were employed, and many expedients propoſed, in order to prevent the kindling a new war in Germany. But the ſame warmth of temper which rendered Albert turbulent and enterpriſing, inſpiring him with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs, even in his wildeſt undertakings, he diſdainfully rejected all reaſonable overtures of accommodation.

Upon this, the Imperial chamber iſſued its decree againſt him, and required the elector of Saxony, together with ſeveral other princes mentioned by name, to take arms in order to carry it into execution. Maurice, and thoſe aſſociated with him, were not unwilling to undertake this ſervice. They were extremely ſolicitous to maintain public order by ſupporting the authority of the Imperial chamber, and ſaw the neceſſity of giving a timely check to the uſurpations of an ambitious prince, who had no principle of action but regard to his own intereſt, and no motive to direct him but the impulſe of ungovernable paſſions. They had good reaſon to ſuſpect, that the emperor encouraged Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceedings and ſecretly afforded him aſſiſtance that, by raiſing him up to rival Maurice in power, he might, in any future broil, make uſe of his aſſiſtance to

counterbalance and controul the authority which the other had acquired in the empire†.

These considerations united the most powerful princes in Germany in a league against Albert, of which Maurice was declared generalissimo [April 2]. This formidable confederacy, however, wrought no change in Albert's sentiments; but as he knew that he could not resist so many princes, if he should allow them time to assemble their forces, he endeavoured, by his activity, to deprive them of all the advantages which they might derive from their united power and numbers; and for that reason marched directly against Maurice, the enemy whom he dreaded most. It was happy for the allies that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a prince of such abilities. He, by his authority and example, had inspired them with vigour; and having carried on their preparations with a degree of rapidity of which confederate bodies are seldom capable, he was in condition to face Albert before he could make any considerable progress.

Their armies which were nearly equal in number, each consisting of twenty-four thousand men, met at Sieverhausen, in the dutchy of Lunenburgh; and the violent animosity against each other, which possessed the two leaders, did not suffer them to continue long inactive. The troops inflamed with the same hostile rage, marched fiercely to the combat [June 9]; they fought with the greatest obstinacy; and as both generals were capable of availing themselves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At last victory declared for Maurice, who was superior in cavalry and Albert's army fled in confusion, leaving four thousand dead in the field, and their camp, baggage, and artillery in the hands of the conquerors. The allies bought their victory dear, their best troops suffered greatly, two sons of the

† Sleid. 585. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 442. Arnoldi vita Maurit. ap. Menken. ii. 1242.

duke of Brunſwick, a duke of Lumenburgh, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were among the number of the ſlain §. But all theſe were ſoon forgotten; for Maurice himſelf, as he led up to a ſecond charge a body of horſe which had been broken, received a wound with a piſtol-bullet in the belly, of which he died two days after the battle, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, and in the ſixth after his attaining the electoral dignity.

Of all the perſonages who have appeared in the hiſtory of this active age, when great occurrences and ſudden revolutions called forth extraordinary talents to view, and afforded them full opportunity to diſplay themſelves, Maurice may juſtly be conſidered as the moſt remarkable. If his exorbitant ambition, his profound diſſimulation, and his unwarrantable uſurpation of his kinſman's honours and dominions exclude him from being praiſed as a virtuous man; his prudence in concerting his meaſures, his vigour in executing them, and the uniform ſucceſs with which they were attended, entitle him to the appellation of a great prince. At an age when impetuoſity of ſpirit commonly predominates over political wiſdom, when the higheſt effort even of a genius of the firſt order is to fix on a bold ſcheme, and to execute it with promptitude and courage, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy, which deceived the moſt artful monarch in Europe. At the very juncture when the emperor had attained to almoſt unlimited deſpotiſm, Maurice, with power ſeemingly inadequate to ſuch an undertaking, compelled him to relinquiſh all his uſurpations, and eſtabliſhed not only the religious but civil liberties of Germany on ſuch foundations as have hitherto remained unſhaken. Although, at one period of his life, his conduct excited the jealouſy of the proteſtants, and at another drew on him the reſentment of the Roman catholics, ſuch was his maſterly ad-

§ Hiſtoria pugnæ infelicis inter Maurit. & Albert. Thom. Wintzero auctore apud Scard. ii. 559. Sleid. 583. Ruſcelli epiſtres aux Princes, 154. Arnoldi vita Maurit. 1245.

dreſs, that he was the only prince of the age who, in any degree poſſeſſed the confidence of both, and whom both lamented as the moſt able as well as faithful guardian of the conſtitution and laws of his country.

The conſternation which Maurice's death occaſioned among his troops, prevented them from making the proper improvement of the victory which they had gained. Albert whoſe active courage, and profuſe liberality, rendered him the darling of ſuch military adventurers as were little ſolicitous about the juſtice of his cauſe, ſoon re-aſſembled his broken forces, and made freſh levies with ſuch ſucceſs that he was quickly at the head of fifteen thouſand men, and renewed his depredations with additional fury. But Henry of Brunſwick having taken the command of the allied troops, defeated him in a ſecond battle [Sept. 12] ſcarcely leſs bloody than the former. Even then his courage did not ſink, nor were his reſources exhauſted. He made ſeveral efforts, and ſome of them very vigorous, to retrieve his affairs: but being laid under the ban of the empire by the Imperial chamber; being driven by degrees out of all his hereditary territories, as well as thoſe which he had uſurped; being forſaken by many of his officers, and overpowered by the number of his enemies, he fled for refuge into France. After having been, for a conſiderable time, the terror and ſcourge of Germany, he lingered out ſome years in an indigent and dependent ſtate of exile, the miſeries of which his reſtleſs and arrogant ſpirit endured with the moſt indignant impatience. Upon his death without iſſue [Jan. 12, 1577], his territories, which had been ſeized by the princes who took arms againſt him, were reſtored, by a decree of the emperor, to his collateral heirs of the houſe of Brandenburg *.

Maurice having left only one daughter, who was afterwards married to William prince of Orange, by whom ſhe had a ſon who bore his grandfather's name, and inherited

* Sleid. 592, 594, 599. Struv. Corp. Hiſt. Germ. 1075.

the great talents for which he was conſpicuous, a violent diſpute aroſe concerning the ſucceſſion to his honours and territories. John Frederick, the degraded elector, claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his patrimonial eſtate of which he had been violently ſtripped after the Smalkaldic war. Auguſtus, Maurice's only brother, pleaded his right not only to the hereditary poſſeſſions of their family, but to the electoral dignity, and to the territories which Maurice had acquired. As Auguſtus was a prince of conſiderable abilities, as well as of great candour and gentleneſs of manners, the ſtates of Saxony, forgetting the merits and ſufferings of their former maſter, declared warmly in his favour. His pretenſions were powerfully ſupported by the king of Denmark, whoſe daughter he had married, and zealouſly eſpouſed by the king of the Romans, out of regard to Maurice's memory. The degraded elector, though ſecretly favoured by his ancient enemy the emperor, was at laſt obliged to relinquiſh his claim, upon obtaining a ſmall addition to the territories which had been allotted to him, together with a ſtipulation, ſecuring to his family the eventual ſucceſſion, upon a failure of male heirs in the Albertine line. That unfortunate, but magnanimous prince, died next year, ſoon after ratifying this treaty of agreement; and the electoral dignity is ſtill poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of Auguſtus*.

During theſe tranſactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low-Countries with conſiderable vigour. The emperor, impatient to efface the ſtain which his ignominious repulſe at Metz left upon his military reputation, had an army early in the field, and laid ſiege to Terouane. Though the town was of ſuch importance, that Francis uſed to call it one of the two pillows on which a king of France might ſleep with ſecurity, the fortifications were in bad repair: Henry, truſting to what had happened at Metz, thought nothing more was neceſſary to render all the

* Sleid. 587. Thuan. 409. Struv. Corp. Hiſt. Germ.

efforts of the enemy abortive, than to reinforce the garriſon with a conſiderable number of the young nobility. But d'Eſsè, a veteran officer who commanded them, being killed, and the Imperialiſts puſhing the ſiege with great vigour and perſeverance, the place was taken by aſſault [June 21.] That it might not fall again into the hands of the French, Charles ordered not only the fortifications but the town itſelf to be razed, and the inhabitants to be diſperſed in the adjacent cities. Elated with this ſucceſs, the Imperialiſts immediately inveſted Heſden, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewiſe taken by aſſault, and ſuch of the garriſon as eſcaped the ſword, were made priſoners. The emperor entruſted the conduct of this ſiege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, who, on that occaſion, gave the firſt diſplay of thoſe great talents for military command, which ſoon entitled him to be ranked among the firſt generals of the age, and facilitated his re-eſtabliſhment in his hereditary dominions, the greater part of which having been over run by Francis in his expeditions into Italy, were ſtill retained by Henry †.

The loſs of theſe towns, together with ſo many perſons of diſtinction, either killed or taken by the enemy, was no inconſiderable calamity to France, and Henry felt it very ſenſibly; but he was ſtill more mortified at the emperor's having recovered his wonted ſuperiority in the field ſo ſoon after the blow at Metz, which the French had repreſented as fatal to his power. He was aſhamed too, of his own remiſſneſs and exceſſive ſecurity at the opening of the campaign; and in order to repair that error, he aſſembled a numerous army, and led it into the Low-Countries.

Rouſed at the approach of ſuch a formidable enemy, Charles left Bruſſels, where he had been ſhut up ſo cloſely during ſeven months, that it came to be believed in many parts of Europe that he was dead; and though he was ſo much debilitated by the gout that he could hardly bear the

† Thuan. 411. Haræi Annales Brabant. 669.

motion of a litter, he haſtened to join his army. The eyes of all Europe were turned with expectation towards thoſe mighty and exaſperated rivals, between whom a deciſive battle was now thought unavoidable. But Charles having prudently declined to hazard a general engagement, and the violence of the autumnal rains rendering it impoſſible for the French to undertake any ſiege, they retired, without having performed any thing ſuitable to the great preparations which they had made†.

The Imperial arms were not attended with the ſame ſucceſs in Italy. The narrowneſs of the emperor's finances ſeldom allowed him to act with vigour in two different places at the ſame time; and having exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to make a great effort in the Low-Countries, his operations on the other ſide of the Alps were proportionally feeble. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Coſmo di Medici, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Sienna, endeavoured to become maſter of that city. But, inſtead of reducing the Sienneſe, the Imperialiſts were obliged to retire abruptly, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkiſh fleet, which threatened the coaſt of Naples; and the French not only eſtabliſhed themſelves more firmly in Tuſcany, but, by the aſſiſtance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the iſland of Corſica, ſubject at that time to the Genoeſe*.

The affairs of the houſe of Auſtria declined no leſs in Hungary during the courſe of this year. As the troops which Ferdinand kept in Tranſylvania received their pay very irregularly, they lived almoſt at diſcretion upon the inhabitants; and their inſolence and rapaciouſneſs greatly diſguſted all ranks of men, and alienated them from their new ſovereign, who inſtead of protecting, plundered his ſubjects. Their indignation at this, added to their deſire of revenging Martinuzzi's death, wrought ſo much upon a turbulent no

† Haræus, 672. Thuan. 414. * Thuan. 417.

bility impatient of injury, and upon a fierce people prone to change, that they were ripe for a revolt. At that very juncture, their late queen Iſabella, together with her ſon, appeared in Tranſylvania. Her ambitious mind could not bear the ſolitude and inactivity of a private life; and repenting quickly of the ceſſion which ſhe had made of the crown in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one, ſhe left the place of her retreat, hoping that the diſſatisfaction of the Hungarians with the Auſtrian government would prompt them once more to recogniſe her ſon's right to the crown. Some noblemen of great eminence declared immediately in his favour. The baſha of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, eſpouſed his cauſe, in oppoſition to Ferdinand; the Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, inſtead of advancing againſt the enemy, mutinied for want of pay, declaring that they would march back to Vienna; ſo that Caſtaldo, their general, was obliged to abandon Tranſylvania to Iſabella and the Turks, and to place himſelf at the head of the mutineers, that by his authority he might reſtrain them from plundering the Auſtrian territories through which they paſſed*.

Ferdinand's attention was turned ſo entirely towards the affairs of Germany, and his treaſures ſo much exhauſted by his late efforts in Hungary, that he made no attempt to recover that valuable province, although a favourable opportunity for that purpoſe preſented itſelf, as Solyman was then engaged in a war with Perſia, and involved beſides in domeſtic calamities which engroſſed and diſturbed his mind. Solyman, though diſtinguiſhed by many accompliſhments from the other Ottoman princes, had all the paſſions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, ſudden as well as furious in his anger, and ſuſceptible of all that rage of love, which reigns in the Eaſt, and often produces the wildeſt and moſt tragical effects. His favourite miſtreſs was a Circaſſian ſlave of ex-

* Thuan. 430.

quiſite beauty, who bore him a ſon called Muſtapha, whom, both on account of his birthright and merit, he deſtined to be the heir of his crown. Roxalana, a Ruſſian captive, ſoon ſupplanted the Circaſſian, and gained the ſultan's heart. Having the addreſs to retain the conqueſt which ſhe had made, ſhe kept poſſeſſion of his love without any rival for many years, during which ſhe brought him ſeveral ſons and one daughter. All the happineſs, however, which ſhe derived from the unbounded ſway that ſhe had acquired over the mind of a monarch whom one half of the world revered or dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Muſtapha's acceſſion to the throne, and the certain death of her ſons, who, ſhe foreſaw, would be immediately ſacrificed, according to the barbarous jealouſy of Turkiſh policy, to the ſafety of the new emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, ſhe came gradually to view Muſtapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a ſtep-mother's ill-will. This prompted her to wiſh his deſtruction, in order to ſecure for one of her own ſons the throne which was deſtined for him. Nor did ſhe want either ambition to attempt ſuch a high enterpriſe, or the arts requiſite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the ſultan to give her only daughter in marriage to Ruſtan the grand vizier, ſhe diſcloſed her ſcheme to that crafty miniſter, who perceiving that it was his own intereſt to co-operate with her, readily promiſed his aſſiſtance towards aggrandizing that branch of the royal line to which he was ſo nearly allied.

As ſoon as Roxalana had concerted her meaſures with this able confident, ſhe began to affect a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was ſuperſtitiouſly attached, and propoſed to found and endow a royal moſque, a work of great expence, but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the higheſt degree. The mufti whom ſhe conſulted, approved much of her pious intention; but having been gained and inſtructed by Ruſtan, told her, that ſhe

being a ſlave could derive no benefit herſelf from that holy deed, for all the merit of it would accrue to Solyman, the maſter whoſe property ſhe was. Upon this ſhe ſeemed to be overwhelmed with ſorrow, and to ſink into the deepeſt melancholy, as if ſhe had been diſguſted with life and all its enjoyments. Solyman, who was abſent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind, and of the cauſe from which it proceeded, diſcovered all the ſolicitude of a lover to remove it, and by a writing under his hand declared her a free woman. Roxalana having gained this point, proceeded to build the moſque, and re-aſſumed her uſual gaiety of ſpirit. But when Solyman, on his return to Conſtantinople, ſent an eunuch, according to the cuſtom of the ſeraglio, to bring her to partake of his bed, ſhe, ſeemingly with deep regret, but in the moſt peremptory manner, declined to follow the eunuch, declaring that what had been an honour to her while a ſlave, became a crime as ſhe was now a free woman, and that ſhe would not involve either the ſultan or herſelf in the guilt that muſt be contracted by ſuch an open violation of the law of their prophet. Solyman, whoſe paſſion this difficulty, as well as the affected delicacy which gave riſe to it, heightened and inflamed, had recourſe immediately to the mufti for his direction. He replied, agreeably to the koran, that Roxalana's ſcruples were well founded; but added, artfully, in words which Ruſtan had taught him to uſe, that it was in the ſultan's power to remove theſe difficulties, by eſpouſing her as his lawful wife. The amorous monarch cloſed eagerly with the propoſal, and ſolemnly married her, according to the form of the Mahometan ritual; though, by doing ſo, he diſregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood had taught all the ſultans ſince Bajazet I. to conſider as inviolable. From his time, none of the Turkiſh monarchs had married, becauſe, when he was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner by Tamerlane, his wife had been abuſed with barbarous inſolence by the Tartars. That no ſimilar calamity might

again ſubject the Ottoman family to the ſame diſgrace, the ſultans admitted none to their beds but ſlaves, whoſe diſhonour could not bring any ſuch ſtain upon their houſe.

But the more uncommon the ſtep was, the more it convinced Roxalana of the unbounded influence which ſhe had acquired over the ſultan's heart; and emboldened her to proſecute, with greater hope of ſucceſs, the ſcheme that ſhe had formed in order to deſtroy Muſtapha. This young prince having been entruſted by his father, according to the practice of the ſultans in that age, with the government of ſeveral different provinces, was at that time inveſted with the adminiſtration in Diarbequir, the ancient Meſopotamia, which Solyman had wreſted from the Perſians, and added to his empire. In all theſe different commands, Muſtapha had conducted himſelf with ſuch cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though, at the ſame time, he governed with ſo much moderation as well as juſtice, and diſplayed ſuch valour and generoſity, as rendered him equally the favourite of the people and the darling of the ſoldiery.

There was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge, that could impair the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; ſhe turned his virtues againſt him, and made uſe of theſe as engines for his deſtruction. She often mentioned, in Solyman's preſence, the ſplendid qualities of his ſon; ſhe celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praiſe. As ſoon as ſhe perceived that the ſultan heard theſe encomiums, which were often repeated, with uneaſineſs; that ſuſpicion of his ſon began to mingle itſelf with his former eſteem; and that by degrees he came to view him with jealouſy and fear; ſhe introduced, as by accident, ſome diſcourſe concerning the rebellion of his father Selim againſt Bajazet his grandfather: ſhe took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Muſtapha's command, and of the neighbourhood of Dairbequir to the

territories of the Perſian ſophi, Solyman's mortal enemy. By theſe arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderneſs was gradually extinguiſhed, and ſuch paſſions were kindled in the breaſt of the ſultan, as gave all Roxalana's malignant ſuggeſtions the colour not only of probability but of truth. His ſuſpicions and fear of Muſtapha ſettled into deep-rooted hatred. He appointed ſpies to obſerve and report all his words and actions; he watched and ſtood on his guard againſt him as his moſt dangerous enemy.

Having thus alienated the ſultan's heart from Muſtapha, Roxalana ventured upon another ſtep. She entreated Solyman to allow her own ſons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that by gaining acceſs to their father, they might, by their good qualities and dutiful deportment, inſinuate themſelves into that place in his affections which Muſtapha had formerly held; and, though what ſhe demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious monarch granted her requeſt. To all theſe female intrigues Ruſtan added an artifice ſtill more ſubtle, which completed the ſultan's deluſion, and heightened his jealouſy and fear. He wrote to the baſhaws of the provinces adjacent to Diarbequir, inſtructing them to ſend him regular intelligence of Muſtapha's proceedings in his government, and to each of them he gave a private hint, flowing in appearance from his zeal for their intereſt, that nothing would be more acceptable to the ſultan than to receive favourable accounts of a ſon whom he deſtined to ſuſtain the glory of the Ottoman name. The baſhaws, ignorant of his fraudulent intention, and eager to pay court to their ſovereign at ſuch an eaſy price, filled their letters with ſtudied but fatal panegyrics of Muſtapha, repreſenting him as a prince worthy to ſucceed ſuch an illuſtrious father, and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate, perhaps to equal, his fame. Theſe letters were induſtriouſly ſhewn to Solyman, at the ſeaſons when it was known that they would make the deepeſt impreſſion. Every expreſſion in recommendation of

his ſon wounded him to the heart; he ſuſpected his principal officers of being ready to favour the moſt deſperate attempts of a prince whom they were ſo fond of praiſing; and fancying that he ſaw them already aſſaulting his throne with rebellious arms, he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to ſecure his own ſafety by his ſon's death.

For this purpoſe, though under pretence of renewing the war againſt Perſia, he ordered Ruſtan to march towards Diarbequir at the head of a numerous army, and to rid him of a ſon whoſe life he deemed inconſiſtent with his own ſafety. But that crafty miniſter did not chuſe to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As ſoon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman, that the danger was ſo imminent as called for his immediate preſence; that the camp was full of Muſtapha's emiſſaries; that many of the ſoldiers were corrupted; that the affections of all leaned towards him; that he had diſcovered a negotiation which had been carried on with the ſophi of Perſia in order to marry Muſtapha with one of his daughters; that he already felt his own talents as well as authority to be inadequate to the exigencies of ſuch an arduous conjuncture; that the ſultan alone had ſagacity to diſcern what reſolution ſhould be taken in thoſe circumſtances, and power to carry that reſolution into execution.

This charge of courting the friendſhip of the ſophi, Roxalana and Ruſtan had reſerved as the laſt and moſt envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Perſians, and threw him into the wildeſt tranſports of rage. He ſet out inſtantly for Syria, and haſtened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As ſoon as he joined his army near Aleppo, and had concerted meaſures with Ruſtan, he ſent a chiaus, or meſſenger of the court, to his ſon, requiring him to repair immediately to his preſence. Muſtapha, though no ſtranger to his ſtep-

mother's machinations, or to Ruſtan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet relying on his own innocence, and hoping to diſcredit the accuſations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the meſſenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the ſultan's tent. As he entered it, he obſerved nothing that could give him any alarm; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the ſame order and ſilence which always reign in the ſultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, ſeveral mutes appeared, at the ſight of whom Muſtapha, knowing what was his doom, cried with a loud voice, "Lo, my death!" and attempted to fly. The mutes ruſhed forward to ſeize him; he reſiſted and ſtruggled, demanding with the utmoſt earneſtneſs to ſee the ſultan; and deſpair, together with the hope of finding protection from the ſoldiers, if he could eſcape out of the tent, animated him with ſuch extraordinary ſtrength, that, for ſome time, he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his ſon's cries, as well as of the noiſe which the ſtruggle occaſioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and ſtruck with terror at the thoughts of Muſtapha's eſcaping, he drew aſide the curtain which divided the tent, and thruſting in his head, darted a fierce look towards the mutes, and, with wild and threatening geſtures, ſeemed to condemn their ſloth and timidity. At ſight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance, Muſtapha's ſtrength failed, and his courage forſook him; the mutes faſtened the bow-ſtring about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

The dead body was expoſed before the ſultan's tent. The ſoldiers gathered round it, and contemplating that mournful object with aſtoniſhment, and ſorrow, and indignation, were ready, if a leader had not been wanting, to have broke out into the wildeſt exceſſes of rage. After giving vent to the firſt expreſſions of their grief, they retired each man to his tent, and ſhutting themſelves up, bewailed in ſecret the cruel

fate of their favourite; nor was there one of them who taſted food, or even water, during the remainder of that day. Next morning the ſame ſolitude and ſilence reigned in the camp; and Solyman, being afraid that ſome dreadful ſtorm would follow this ſullen calm, in order to appeaſe the enraged ſoldiers, deprived Ruſtan of the ſeals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raiſed Achmet, a gallant officer much beloved in the army, to the dignity of viſier. This change, however, was made in concert with Ruſtan himſelf; that crafty miniſter ſuggeſting it as the only expedient which could ſave himſelf or his maſter. But within a few months, when the reſentment of the ſoldiers began to ſubſide, and the name of Muſtapha to be forgotten, Achmet was ſtrangled by the ſultan's command, and Ruſtan re-inſtated in the office of viſier. Together with his former power, he re-aſſumed the plan for exterminating the race of Muſtapha which he had concerted with Roxalana; and as they were afraid that an only ſon whom Muſtapha had left, might grow up to avenge his death, they redoubled their activity, and by employing the ſame arts againſt him which they had practiſed againſt his father, they inſpired Solyman with the ſame fears, and prevailed on him to iſſue orders for putting to death that young innocent prince. Theſe orders were executed with barbarous zeal, by an eunuch, who was diſpatched to Burſa, the place where the prince reſided; and no rival was left to diſpute the Ottoman throne with the ſons of Roxalana*.

Such tragical ſcenes, productive of ſo deep diſtreſs, ſeldom occur but in the hiſtory of the great monarchies of the eaſt, where the warmth of the climate ſeems to give every emotion of the heart its greateſt force, and the abſolute power of ſovereigns, accuſtoms and enables them to gratify all their paſſions without controul. While this intereſting tranſaction in the court of Solyman engaged his whole attention, Charles

* Augerii Giſlenii Buſbequii Legationis Turcicæ Epiſtolæ iv. Franc. 1615, p. 37. Thuan. lib. xii. p. 432. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 457. Mauroceni Hiſtor. Veneta, lib. vii. p. 60.

was purſuing, with the utmoſt ardour, a new ſcheme for aggrandizing his family. About this time, Edward the ſixth of England, after a ſhort reign, in which he diſplayed ſuch virtues as filled his ſubject with ſanguine hopes of being happy under his government, and made them bear with patience all that they ſuffered from the weakneſs, the diſſenſions, and the ambition of the miniſters who aſſumed the adminiſtration during his minority, was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper which threatened his life. The emperor no ſooner received an account of this, than his ambition, always attentive to ſeize every opportunity of acquiring an increaſe of power, or of territories, to his ſon, ſuggeſted the thought of adding England to his other kingdoms, by the marriage of Philip with the princeſs Mary, the heir of Edward's crown. Being apprehenſive, however, that his ſon, who was then in Spain, might decline a match with a princeſs in her thirty-eighth year, and eleven years older than himſelf†; Charles determined, notwithſtanding his own age and infirmities, to make offer of himſelf as a huſband to his couſin.

But though Mary was ſo far advanced in years, and deſtitute of every charm either of perſon or of manners that could win affection or command eſteem, Philip, without heſitation, gave his conſent to the match propoſed by his father, and was willing, according to the uſual maxim of princes, to ſacrifice his inclination to his ambition. In order to enſure the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, the emperor, even before Edward's death, began to take ſuch ſteps as might facilitate it. Upon Edward's demiſe, Mary mounted the throne of England; the pretenſions of the lady Jane Grey proving as unfortunate as they were ill-founded*. Charles ſent immediately a pompous embaſſy to London to congratulate Mary on her acceſſion to the throne, and to propoſe the alliance with his ſon. The queen, dazzled with the proſpect of marrying the heir of the greateſt monarch in Europe; fond of uniting

† Palav. Hiſt. Concil. Trid. v. ii. c. 13. p. 150.
* Carte's Hiſt. of England, iii. 287.

more cloſely with her mother's family, to which ſhe had been always warmly attached; and eager to ſecure the powerful aid which ſhe knew would be neceſſary towards carrying on her favourite ſcheme of re-eſtabliſhing the Romiſh religion in England, liſtened in the moſt favourable manner to the propoſal. Among her ſubjects, it met with a very different reception. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the church of Rome with a ſanguinary zeal which exceeded the meaſure even of Spaniſh bigotry: this alarmed all the numerous partiſans of the reformation. The Caſtilian haughtineſs and reſerve were far from being acceptable to the Engliſh, who, having ſeveral times ſeen their throne occupied by perſons who were born ſubjects, had become accuſtomed to an unceremonious and familiar intercourſe with their ſovereigns. They could not think, without the utmoſt uneaſineſs, of admitting a foreign prince to that influence in their councils, which the huſband of their queen would naturally poſſeſs. They dreaded, both from Philip's overbearing temper, and from the maxims of the Spaniſh monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuſe ideas into the queen's mind, dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom, to aſſiſt her in any attempt againſt them.

Full of theſe apprehenſions, the houſe of commons, tho' in that age extremely obſequious to the will of their monarchs, preſented a warm addreſs againſt the Spaniſh match; many pamphlets were publiſhed, repreſenting the dangerous conſequences of the alliance with Spain, and deſcribing Philip's bigotry and arrogance in the moſt odious colours. But Mary, inflexible in all her reſolutions, paid no regard to the remonſtrances of her commons, or to the ſentiments of the people. The emperor, having ſecured, by various arts, the miniſters whom ſhe truſted moſt, they approved warmly of the match, and large ſums were remitted by him in order to gain the reſt of the council. Cardinal Pole, whom the

pope, immediately upon Mary's acceſſion, had diſpatched as his legate into England, in order to reconcile his native country to the ſee of Rome, was detained by the emperor's command at Dillinghen in Germany, leſt by his preſence he ſhould thwart Philip's pretenſions, and employ his intereſt in favour of his kinſman Courtnay earl of Devonſhire, whom the Engliſh ardently wiſhed their ſovereign to chuſe for a huſband†.

As the negotiation did not admit of delay, it was carried forward with the greateſt rapidity, the emperor agreeing, without heſitation, to every article in favour of England, which Mary's miniſters either repreſented as neceſſary to ſoothe the people and reconcile them to the match, or that was ſuggeſted by their own fears and jealouſy of a foreign maſter. The chief articles were [Jan. 12, 1554], that Philip, during his marriage with the queen, ſhould bear the title of king of England, but the entire adminiſtration of affairs, as well as the ſole diſpoſal of all revenues, offices, and benefices, ſhould remain with the queen; that the heirs of the marriage ſhould, together with the crown of England, inherit the dutchy of Burgundy and the Low-Countries; that if prince Charles, Philip's only ſon by a former marriage, ſhould die without iſſue, his children by the queen, whether male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain, and all the emperor's hereditary dominions; that before the conſummation of the marriage, Philip ſhould ſwear ſolemnly, that he would retain no domeſtic who was not a ſubject of the queen, and would bring no foreigners into the kingdom that might give umbrage to the Engliſh; that he would make no alteration in the conſtitution or laws of England; that he would not carry the queen, or any of the children born of this marriage, out of the kingdom; that if the queen ſhould die before him without iſſue, he would immediately leave the crown to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of adminiſtration whatever; that in conſequence of

† Carte, iii. 288.

this marriage, England ſhould not be engaged in any war ſubſiſting between France and Spain; and that the alliance between France and England ſhould remain in full force*.

But this treaty, though both the emperor and Mary's miniſters employed their utmoſt addreſs in framing it ſo as to pleaſe the Engliſh, was far from quieting their fears and jealouſies. They ſaw that words and promiſes were a feeble ſecurity againſt the encroachments of an ambitious prince, who, as ſoon as he got poſſeſſion of the power and advantages which the queen's huſband muſt neceſſarily enjoy, could eaſily evade any of the articles which either limited his authority or obſtructed his ſchemes. They were convinced that the more favourable the conditions of the preſent treaty were to England, the more Philip would be tempted hereafter to violate them. They dreaded that England, like Naples, Milan, and the other countries annexed to Spain, would ſoon feel the dominion of that crown to be intolerably oppreſſive, and be conſtrained, as theſe had been, to waſte its wealth and vigour in wars wherein it had no intereſt, and from which it could derive no advantage. Theſe ſentiments prevailed ſo generally that every part of the kingdom was filled with diſcontent at the match, and with indignation againſt the adviſers of it. Sir Thomas Wyat, a gentleman of ſome note, and of good intentions towards the public, took advantage of this, and rouſed the inhabitants of Kent to arms, in order to ſave their country from a foreign yoke. Great numbers reſorted in a ſhort time to his ſtandard; he marched to London with ſuch rapidity, and the queen was ſo utterly unprovided for defence, that the aſpect of affairs was extremely threatening; and if any nobleman of diſtinction had joined the malecontents, or had Wyat poſſeſſed talents equal, in any degree, to the boldneſs of his enterpriſe, the inſurrection muſt have proved fatal to Mary's power. But all Wyat's meaſures were concerted with ſo little prudence, and execut-

* Rymer's Fœd. vol. xv. 377, 393. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 498.

ed with ſuch irreſolution, that many of his followers forſook him; the reſt were diſperſed by a handful of ſoldiers; and he himſelf was taken priſoner, without having made any effort worthy of the cauſe that he had undertaken, or ſuitable to the ardour with which he engaged in it. He ſuffered the puniſhment due to his raſhneſs and rebellion. The queen's authority was confirmed and increaſed by her ſucceſs in defeating this inconſiderate attempt to abridge it. The lady Jane Grey, whoſe title the ambition of her relations had ſet up in oppoſition to that of the queen, was, notwithſtanding her youth and innocence, brought to the ſcaffold. The lady Elizabeth, the queen's ſiſter, was obſerved with the moſt jealous attention. The treaty of marriage was ratified by the parliament.

Philip landed in England with a magnificent retinue, celebrated his nuptials with great ſolemnity; and though he could not lay aſide his natural ſeverity and pride, or aſſume gracious and popular manners, he endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the Engliſh nobility by his extraordinary liberality. Leſt that ſhould fail of acquiring him ſuch influence in the government of the kingdom as he aimed at obtaining, the emperor kept a body of twelve thouſand men on the coaſt of Flanders in readineſs to embark for England, and to ſupport his ſon in all his enterpriſes.

Emboldened by all theſe favourable circumſtances, Mary purſued the ſcheme of extirpating the proteſtant religion out of her dominions, with the moſt precipitate zeal. The laws of Edward the Sixth, in favour of the reformation were repealed; the proteſtant clergy ejected; all the forms and rights of the popiſh worſhip were re-eſtabliſhed; the nation was ſolemnly abſolved from the guilt which it had contracted during the period of its apoſtaſy, and was publicly reconciled to the church of Rome by cardinal Pole, who immediately after the queen's marriage, was permitted to continue his journey to England, and to exerciſe his legantine functions with the moſt ample power. Not ſatisfied with

having overturned the proteſtant church, and re-eſtabliſhing the ancient ſyſtem on its ruins, Mary inſiſted that all her ſubjects ſhould conform to the ſame mode of worſhip which ſhe preferred; ſhould profeſs their faith in the ſame creed which ſhe had approved; and abjure every practice or opinion that was deemed repugnant to either of them. Powers, altogether unknown in the Engliſh conſtitution, were veſted in certain perſons appointed to take cognizance of hereſy, and they proceeded to exerciſe them with more than inquiſitorial ſeverity. The proſpect of danger, however, did not intimidate the principal teachers of the proteſtant doctrines, who believed that they were contending for truths of the utmoſt conſequence to the happineſs of mankind. They boldly avowed their ſentiments, and were condemned to that cruel death which the church of Rome reſerves for its enemies. This ſhocking puniſhment was inflicted with that barbarity which the rancour of falſe zeal alone can inſpire. The Engliſh who are inferior in humanity to no people in Europe, and remarkable for the mildneſs of their public executions, beheld with aſtoniſhment and horror, perſons who had filled the moſt reſpectable ſtations in their church, and who were venerable on account of their age, their piety and their literature, condemned to endure torments to which their laws did not ſubject even the moſt atrocious criminals.

This extreme rigour did not accompliſh the end at which Mary aimed. The patience and fortitude with which theſe martyrs for the reformation ſubmitted to their ſufferings, the heroic contempt of death expreſſed by perſons of every rank, and age, and ſex, confirmed many more in the proteſtant faith, than the threats of their enraged perſecutors could frighten into apoſtaſy. The buſineſs of ſuch as were entruſted with trying of heretics multiplied continually, and appeared to be as endleſs as it was odious. The queen's ableſt miniſters became ſenſible how impolitic, as well as dangerous, it was to irritate the people by the frequent ſpectacle of public executions, which they deteſted as no

leſs unjuſt than cruel. Even Philip was ſo thoroughly convinced of her having run to an exceſs of rigour, that on this occaſion he aſſumed a part to which he was little accuſtomed, becoming an advocate for moderation and lenity*.

But notwithſtanding this attempt to ingratiate himſelf with the Engliſh, they diſcovered a conſtant jealouſy and diſtruſt of all his intentions; and when ſome members, who had been gained by the court, ventured to move in the houſe of commons that the nation ought to aſſiſt the emperor, the queen's father-in-law, in his war againſt France, the propoſal was rejected with general diſſatisfaction. A motion which was made, that the parliament ſhould give its conſent that Philip might be publicly crowned as the queen's huſband, met with ſuch a cold reception that it was inſtantly withdrawn†.

The king of France had obſerved the progreſs of the emperor's negotiation in England with much uneaſineſs. The great acceſſion of territories as well as reputation which his enemy would acquire by the marriage of his ſon with the queen of ſuch a powerful kingdom, was obvious and formidable. He eaſily foreſaw that the Engliſh, notwithſtanding all their fears and precautions, would be ſoon drawn in to take part in the quarrels on the continent, and be compelled to act in ſubſerviency to the emperor's ambitious ſchemes. For this reaſon, Henry had given it in charge to his ambaſſador at the court of London, to employ all his addreſs in order to defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and as there was not, at that time, any prince of the blood in France whom he could propoſe to the queen as a huſband, he inſtructed him to co-operate with ſuch of the Engliſh as wiſhed their ſovereign to marry one of her own ſubjects. But the queen's ardour and precipitation in cloſing with the firſt overtures in favour of Philip, having ren-

* Godwin's Annals of Q. Mary ap. Kennet, v. ii. p. 329. Burnet's Hiſt. of Reform. ii. 298. 305.

† Carte's Hiſt. of England, iii. 314.

dered all his endeavours ineffectual, Henry was ſo far from thinking it prudent to give any aid to the Engliſh male-contents, though earneſtly ſolicited by Wyat and their other leaders, who tempted him to take them under his protection, by offers of great advantage to France, that he commanded his ambaſſador to congratulate the queen in the warmeſt terms upon the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrection.

Notwithſtanding theſe external profeſſions, Henry dreaded ſo much the conſequence of this alliance, which more than compenſated for all the emperor had loſt in Germany, that he determined to carry on his military operations, both in the Low-Countries and in Italy, with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could ſurmount the averſion of her ſubjects to a war on the continent, and prevail on them to aſſiſt the emperor either with money or troops. For this purpoſe he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to have a numerous army early aſſembled on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and while one part of it laid waſte the open country of Artois, the main body, under the conſtable Montmorency, advanced towards the provinces of Liege and Hainault by the foreſt of Ardennes.

The campaign was opened with the ſiege of Mariemburgh, a town which the queen of Hungary, the governeſs of the Low-Countries, had fortified at great expence; but, being deſtitute of a ſufficient garriſon, it ſurrendered in ſix days [June 28]. Henry, elated with this ſucceſs, put himſelf at the head of his army, and inveſting Bouvines, took it by aſſault, after a ſhort reſiſtance. With equal facility he became maſter of Dinant; and then turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The large ſums which the emperor had remitted into England had ſo exhauſted his treaſury, as to render his preparations at this juncture ſlower and more dilatory than uſual. He had no body of troops to make head againſt the French at their firſt entrance into his territories; and though he

drew together all the forces in the country in the utmoſt hurry, and gave the command of them to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number. The prince of Savoy, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a diſtance, and by chuſing his own poſts with ſkill, he put it out of their power either to form any ſiege of conſequence, or to attack him. Want of ſubſiſtence ſoon obliged them to fall back towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country through which they marched with a cruelty and licence more becoming a body of light troops than a royal army led by a great monarch.

But Henry, that he might not diſmiſs his army without attempting ſome conqueſt adequate to the great preparations, as well as ſanguine hopes, with which he had opened the campaign, inveſted Renti, a place deemed in that age of great importance, as, by its ſituation on the confines of Artois and the Boulonnois, it covered the former province, and protected the parties which made incurſions into the latter. The town which was ſtrongly fortified, and provided with a numerous garriſon, made a gallant defence; but being warmly preſſed by a powerful army, it muſt ſoon have yielded. The emperor, who at that time enjoyed a ſhort interval of eaſe from the gout, was ſo ſolicitous to ſave it, that, although he could bear no other motion but that of a litter, he inſtantly put himſelf at the head of his army, which, having received ſeveral reinforcements, was now ſtrong enough to approach the enemy. The French were eager to decide the fate of Renti by a battle, and expected it from the emperor's arrival in his camp; but Charles avoided a general action with great induſtry, and as he had nothing in view but to ſave the town, he hoped to accompliſh that, without expoſing himſelf to the conſequences of ſuch a dangerous and doubtful event.

Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, a diſpute, about a poſt which both armies endeavoured to ſeize, brought on an engagement [Aug. 13.] which proved almoſt general. The duke of Guiſe, who commanded the wing of the French which ſtood the brunt of the combat, diſplayed valour and conduct worthy of the defender of Metz; the Imperialiſts after an obſtinate ſtruggle were repulſed; the French remained maſters of the poſt in diſpute, and if the conſtable, either from his natural caution and ſlowneſs, or from unwillingneſs to ſupport a rival whom he hated, had not delayed bringing up the main body to ſecond the impreſſion which Guiſe had made, the route of the enemy muſt have been complete. The emperor, notwithſtanding the loſs which he had ſuſtained, continued in the ſame camp; and the French, being ſtraitened for proviſions, and finding it impoſſible to carry on the ſiege in the face of an hoſtile army, quitted their intrenchments. They retired openly, courting the enemy to approach, rather than ſhunning an engagement.

But Charles, having gained his end, ſuffered them to march off unmoleſted. As ſoon as his troops entered their own country, Henry threw garriſons into the frontier towns, and diſmiſſed the reſt of the army. This encouraged the Imperialiſts to puſh forward with a conſiderable body of troops into Picardy, and by laying waſte the country with fire and ſword, they endeavoured to revenge themſelves for the ravages which the French had committed in Hainault and Artois*. But, as they were not able to reduce any place of importance, they gained nothing more than the enemy had done by this cruel and inglorious method of carrying on the war.

The arms of France were ſtill more unſucceſsful in Italy. The footing which the French had acquired in Sienna occaſioned much uneaſineſs to Coſmo di Medici, the moſt ſagacious and enterpriſing of all the Italian princes. He dread-

* Thuan. 460, &c. Haræi Ann. Brab. 674.

ed the neighbourhood of a powerful people, to whom all who favoured the ancient republican government in Florence would have recourſe, as to their natural protectors, againſt that abſolute authority which the emperor had enabled him to uſurp; he knew how odious he was to the French, on account of his attachment to the Imperial party, and he foreſaw that, if they were permitted to gather ſtrength in Sienna, Tuſcany would ſoon feel the effects of their reſentment. For theſe reaſons, he wiſhed with the utmoſt ſolicitude for the expulſion of the French out of the Siennefe, before they had time to eſtabliſh themſelves thoroughly in the country, or to receive ſuch reinforcements from France as would render it dangerous to attack them. As this, however, was properly the emperor's buſineſs, who was called by his intereſt as well as honour to diſlodge thoſe formidable intruders into the heart of his dominions, Coſmo laboured to throw the whole burden of the enterpriſe on him; and on that account had given no aſſiſtance during the former campaign, but by advancing ſome ſmall ſums of money towards the payment of the Imperial troops.

But as the defence of the Netherlands engroſſed all the emperor's attention, and his remittances into England had drained his treaſury, it was obvious that his operations in Italy would be extremely feeble; and Coſmo plainly perceived, that if he himſelf did not take part openly in the war, and act with vigour, the French would ſcarcely meet with any annoyance. As his ſituation rendered this reſolution neceſſary and unavoidable, his next care was to execute it in ſuch a manner, that he might derive from it ſome other advantage, beſide that of driving the French out of his neighbourhood. With this view, he diſpatched an envoy to Charles, offering to declare war againſt France, and to reduce Sienna at his own charges, on condition that he ſhould be repaid whatever he ſhould expend in the enterpriſe, and be permitted to retain all his conqueſts until his demands were fully ſatisfied. Charles, to whom, at this juncture,

the war againſt Sienna was an intolerable burden, and who had neither expedient nor reſource that could enable him to carry it on with proper vigour, cloſed gladly with this overture; and Coſmo, well acquainted with the low ſtate of the Imperial finances, flattered himſelf that the emperor, finding it impoſſible to reimburſe him, would ſuffer him to keep quiet poſſeſſion of whatever places he ſhould conquer†.

Full of theſe hopes, he made great preparations for war, and as the French king had turned the ſtrength of his arms againſt the Netherlands, he did not deſpair of aſſembling ſuch a body of men as would prove more than a ſufficient match for any force which Henry could bring into the field in Italy. He endeavoured, by giving one of his daughters to the pope's nephew, to obtain aſſiſtance from the holy ſee, or at leaſt to ſecure his remaining neutral. He attempted to detach the duke of Orſini, whoſe family had been long attached to the French party, from his ancient confederates, by beſtowing on him another of his daughters; and what was of greater conſequence than either of theſe, he engaged John James Medecino, marquis of Marignano, to take the command of his army*. This officer, from a very low condition in life, had raiſed himſelf, through all the ranks of ſervice, to high command, and had diſplayed talents, and acquired reputation in war, which entitled him to be placed on a level with the greateſt generals in that martial age. Having attained a ſtation of eminence ſo diſproportionate to his birth, he laboured with a fond ſolicitude to conceal his original obſcurity, by giving out that he was deſcended of the family of Medici, to which honour the caſual reſemblance of his name was his only pretenſion. Coſmo, happy that he could gatify him at ſuch an eaſy rate, flattered his vanity in this point, acknowledged him as a relation, and permitted him to aſſume the arms of his family: Medecino, eager to ſerve the head of that family of which

† Adriani Iſtoria de ſuoi Tempi, vol. i. 662.

* Adriani Iſtoria, vol. i. p. 663.

he now conſidered himſelf as a branch, applied with wonderful zeal and aſſiduity to raiſe troops; and as, during his long ſervice, he had acquired great credit with the leaders of thoſe mercenary bands which formed the ſtrength of Italian armies, he engaged the moſt eminent of them to follow Coſmo's ſtandard.

To oppoſe this able general, and the formidable army which he had aſſembled, the king of France made choice of Peter Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, who had reſided long in France as an exile, and who had riſen by his merit to high reputation, as well as command in the army. He was the ſon of Philip Strozzi, who, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, had concurred with ſuch ardour in the attempt to expel the family of Medici out of Florence, in order to re-eſtabliſh the ancient republican form of government; and who had periſhed in the undertaking. The ſon inherited the implacable averſion to the Medici, as well as the ſame enthuſiaſtic zeal for the liberty of Florence, which had animated his father, whoſe death he was impatient to revenge. Henry flattered himſelf that his army would make rapid progreſs under a general whoſe zeal to promote his intereſt was rouſed and ſeconded by ſuch powerful paſſions; eſpecially as he had allotted him, for the ſcene of action his native country, in which he had many powerful partiſans, ready to facilitate all his operations.

But how ſpecious ſoever the motives might appear which induced Henry to make this choice, it proved fatal to the intereſts of France in Italy. Coſmo, as ſoon as he heard that the mortal enemy of his family was appointed to take the command in Tuſcany, concluded that the king of France aimed at ſomething more than the protection of the Sienneſe, and ſaw the neceſſity of making extraordinary efforts, not merely to reduce Sienna, but to ſave himſelf from deſtruction†. At the ſame time, the cardinal of Ferrara, who had the entire direction of the French affairs in Italy, conſidered Stroz-

† Pecci Memoire di Sienna, vol. iv. p. 103, &c.

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zi as a formidable rival in power, and in order to prevent his acquiring any increaſe of authority from ſucceſs, he was extremely remiſs in ſupplying him either with money to pay his troops, or with proviſions to ſupport them. Strozzi himſelf, blinded by his reſentment againſt the Medici, puſhed on his operations with the impetuoſity of revenge, rather than with the caution and prudence becoming a great general.

At firſt, however, he attacked ſeveral towns in the territory of Florence with ſuch vigour as obliged Medecino, in order to check his progreſs, to withdraw the greater part of his army from Sienna, which he had inveſted before Strozzi's arrival in Italy. As Coſmo ſuſtained the whole burden of military operations, the expence of which muſt ſoon have exhauſted his revenues; as neither the viceroy of Naples nor governor of Milan were in condition to afford him any effectual aid; as the troops which Medecino had left in the camp before Sienna could attempt nothing againſt it during his abſence; it was Strozzi's buſineſs to have protracted the war, and to have transferred the ſeat of it into the territories of Florence. But the hope of ruining his enemy by one deciſive blow, precipitated him into a general engagement [Aug. 3] not far from Marciano. The armies were nearly equal in number; but a body of Italian cavalry, in which Strozzi placed great confidence, having fled without making any reſiſtance, either through the treachery or cowardice of the officers who commanded it, his infantry remained expoſed to the attacks of all Medecino's troops. Encouraged, however, by Strozzi's preſence and example, who, after receiving a dangerous wound in endeavouring to rally the cavalry, placed himſelf at the head of the infantry, and manifeſted an admirable preſence of mind, as well as extraordinary valour, they ſtood their ground with great firmneſs, and repulſed ſuch of the enemy as ventured to approach them. But thoſe gallant troops being ſurrounded at laſt on every ſide, and torn in pieces by a battery of can-

non which Medecino brought to bear upon them, the Florentine cavalry broke in on their flanks, and a general route enſued. Strozzi, faint with the loſs of blood, and deeply affected with the fatal conſequences of his own raſhneſs, found the utmoſt difficulty in making his eſcape with a handful of men†.

Medecino returned immediately to the ſiege of Sienna with his victorious forces, and as Strozzi could not, after the greateſt efforts of activity, collect as many men as to form the appearance of a regular army, he had leiſure to carry on his approaches againſt the town without moleſtation. But the Sienneſe, inſtead of ſinking into deſpair upon this cruel diſappointment of their only hope of obtaining relief, prepared to defend themſelves to the utmoſt extremity, with that undaunted fortitude which the love of liberty alone can inſpire. This generous reſolution was warmly ſeconded by Monluc, who commanded the French garriſon in the town. The active and enterpriſing courage which he had diſplayed on many occaſions, had procured him this command; and as he had ambition which aſpired at the higheſt military dignities, without any pretenſions to attain them but what he could derive from merit, he determined to diſtinguiſh his defence of Sienna by extraordinary efforts of valour and perſeverance. For this purpoſe, he repaired and ſtrengthened the fortifications with unwearied induſtry; he trained the citizens to the uſe of arms, and accuſtomed them to go through the fatigues and dangers of ſervice in common with the ſoldiers; and as the enemy were extremely ſtrick in guarding all the avenues to the city, he huſbanded the proviſions in the magazines with the moſt parſimonious economy, and prevailed on the ſoldiers, as well as the citizens, to reſtrict themſelves to a very moderate daily allowance for their ſubſiſtence. Medecino, though his army was not numerous enough to ſtorm the town by open force, ventured twice to aſſault it by ſurpriſe; but he was received

† Pecci Memoire della Sienna, vol. iv. p. 157.

each time with ſo much ſpirit, and repulſed with ſuch loſs, as diſcouraged him from repeating the attempt, and left him no hopes of reducing the town but by famine.

With this view he fortified his own camp with geat care, occupied all the poſts of ſtrength round the place, and having entirely cut off the beſieged from any communication with the adjacent country, he waited patiently until neceſſity ſhould compel them to open their gates. But their enthuſiaſtic zeal for liberty made the citizens deſpiſe the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the ſcarcity of proviſions, and ſupported them long under all the miſeries of famine: Monluc, by his example and exhortations, taught his ſoldiers to vie with them in patience and abſtinence; and it was not until they had withſtood a ſiege of ten months, until they had eaten up all the horſes, dogs, and other animals in the place, and were reduced almoſt to their laſt morſel of bread, that they propoſed a capitulation [1555.] Even then they demanded honourable terms; and as Coſmo, though no ſtranger to the extremity of their condition, was afraid that deſpair might prompt them to venture upon ſome wild enterpriſe, he immediately granted them conditions more favourable than they could have expected.

April 22.] The capitulation was made in the emperor's name, who engaged to take the republic of Sienna under the protection of the empire; he promiſed to maintain the ancient liberties of the city, to allow the magiſtrates the full exerciſe of their former authority, to ſecure the citizens in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their privileges and property; he granted an ample and unlimited pardon to all who had borne arms againſt him; he reſerved to himſelf the right of placing a garriſon in the town, but engaged not to rebuild the citadel without the conſent of the citizens. Monluc and his French garriſon were allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

Medecino obſerved the articles of capitulation, as far as depended on him, with great exactneſs. No violence or in-

ſult whatever was offered to the inhabitants, and the French garriſon was treated with all the reſpect due to their ſpirit and bravery. But many of the citizens ſuſpecting, from the extraordinary facility with which they had obtained ſuch favourable conditions, that the emperor, as well as Coſmo, would take the firſt opportunity of violating them, and diſdaining to poſſeſs a precarious liberty, which depended on the will of another, abandoned the place of their nativity, and accompanied the French to Monté-Alcino, Porto Ercole, and other ſmall towns in the territory of the republic. They eſtabliſhed in Monté-Alcino, the ſame model of government to which they had been accuſtomed at Sienna, and appointing magiſtrates with the ſame titles and juriſdiction, ſolaced themſelves with this image of their ancient liberty.

The fears of the Sienneſe concerning the fate of their country were not imaginary, or their ſuſpicion of the emperor and Coſmo ill-founded; for no ſooner had the Imperial troops taken poſſeſſion of the town, than Coſmo, without regarding the articles of capitulation, not only diſplaced the magiſtrates who were in office, and nominated new ones devoted to his own intereſt, but commanded all the citizens to deliver up their arms to perſons whom he appointed to receive them. They ſubmitted to the former from neceſſity, though with all the reluctance and regret which men accuſtomed to liberty feel in obeying the firſt commands of a maſter. They did not yield the ſame tame obedience to the latter; and many perſons of diſtinction, rather than degrade themſelves from the rank of freemen to the condition of ſlaves by ſurrendering their arms, fled to their countrymen at Monté-Alcino, and choſe to endure all the hardſhips, and encounter all the dangers which they had reaſon to expect in that new ſtation, where they had fixed the ſeat of their republic.

Coſmo, not reckoning himſelf ſecure while ſuch numbers

of implacable and deſperate enemies were ſettled in his neighbourhood, and retained any degree of power, ſolicited Medecino to attack them in their different places of retreat, before they had time to recruit their ſtrength and ſpirits, after the many calamities which they had ſuffered. He prevailed on him, though his army was much weakened by hard duty during the ſiege of Sienna, to inveſt Porto Ercole; and the fortifications being both ſlight and incomplete, the beſieged were ſoon compelled to open their gates [June 13]. An unexpected order, which Medecino received from the emperor to detach the greater part of his troops into Piedmont, prevented farther operations, and permitted the Sienneſe exiles to reſide for ſome time undiſturbed in Monté-Alcino. But their unhappy countrymen who remained at Sienna were not yet at the end of their ſufferings; for the emperor, inſtead of adhering to the articles of capitulation, granted his ſon Philip the inveſtiture of that city and all its dependencies; and Francis de Toledo, in the name of their new maſter, proceeded to ſettle the civil and military government, treated them like a conquered people, and ſubjected them to the Spaniſh yoke, without paying any regard whatever to their privileges or ancient form of government *.

The Imperial army in Piedmont had been ſo feeble for ſome time, and its commander ſo inactive, that the emperor, in order to give vigour to his operations in that quarter, found it neceſſary not only to recal Medecino's troops from Tuſcany, while in the career of conqueſt, but to employ in Piedmont a general of ſuch reputation and abilities, as might counterbalance the great military talents of the marechal Briſſac, who was at the head of the French forces in that country.

He pitched on the duke of Alva for that purpoſe; but

* Sleid. 617. Thuan. lib. xv. 526, 537. Joan. Camerarii adnot. rer. præcipuarum ab anno 1550 ad 1561 ap. Freherum, vol. iii. p. 564. Pecci Memorie della Sienna, iv. 64, &c.

that choice was as much the effect of a court intrigue, as of his opinion with reſpect to the duke's merit. Alva had long made court to Philip with the utmoſt aſſiduity, and had endeavoured to work himſelf into his confidence by all the inſinuating arts of which his haughty and inflexible nature was capable. As he nearly reſembled that prince in many features of his character, he began to gain much of his good-will. Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's favourite, who dreaded the progreſs which this formidable rival made in his maſter's affections, had the addreſs to prevail with the emperor to name Alva to this command. The duke, tho' ſenſible that he owed this diſtinction to the malicious arts of an enemy, who had no other aim than to remove him at a diſtance from court, was of ſuch punctilious honour, that he would not decline a command that appeared dangerous and difficult, but, at the ſame time, was ſo haughty, that he would not accept of it but on his own terms, inſiſting on being appointed the emperor's vicar-general in Italy, with the ſupreme military command in all the Imperial and Spaniſh territories in that country. Charles granted all his demands; and he took poſſeſſion of his new dignity with almoſt unlimited authority.

His firſt operations, however, were neither proportioned to his former reputation and the extenſive powers with which he was inveſted, nor did they come up to the emperor's expectations. Briſſac had under his command an army which, though inferior in number to the Imperialiſts, was compoſed of choſen troops, which having grown old in ſervice in that country, where every town was fortified, and every caſtle capable of being defended, were perfectly acquainted with the manner of carrying on war there. By their valour, and his own good conduct, Briſſac not only defeated all the attempts of the Imperialiſts, but added new conqueſts to the territories of which he was formerly maſter. Alva, after having boaſted, with his uſual arrogance, that he would drive the French out of Piedmont, in a few weeks, was obliged to retire into

winter-quarters, with the mortification of being unable to preſerve entire that part of the country of which the emperor had hitherto kept poſſeſſion*.

As the operations of this campaign in Piedmont were indeciſive, thoſe in the Netherlands were inconſiderable, neither the emperor nor king of France being able to bring into the field an army ſtrong enough to undertake any enterpriſe of moment. But what Charles wanted in force, he endeavoured to ſupply by a bold ſtratagem, the ſucceſs of which would have been equal to that of the moſt vigorous campaign. During the ſiege of Metz, Leonard, father guardian of a convent of Franciſcans in that city, had inſinuated himſelf far into the eſteem and favour of the duke of Guiſe, by his attachment to the French. Being a man of an active and intriguing ſpirit, he had been extremely uſeful both in animating the inhabitants to ſuſtain with patience all the hardſhips of the ſiege, and in procuring intelligence of the enemies deſigns and motions. The merit of thoſe important ſervices, together with the warm recommendations of the duke of Guiſe, ſecured him ſuch high confidence with Vielleville, who was appointed governor of Metz when Guiſe left the town, that he was permitted to converſe or correſpond with whatever perſons he thought fit, and nothing that he did created any ſuſpicion. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers; or from reſentment againſt the French, who had not beſtowed on him ſuch rewards as he thought due to his own merit; or tempted by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him, to imagine that he might carry on and accompliſh any ſcheme with perfect ſecurity, formed a deſign of betraying Metz to the Imperialiſts.

He communicated his intention to the queen-dowager of Hungary, who governed the Low-Countries in the name of her brother. She approving without any ſcruple, an act of treachery, from which the emperor might derive ſuch

* Thuan. lib. xv. 529. Guichenon Hiſt. de Savoye, tom. i. 670.

ſignal advantage, aſſiſted the father guardian in concerting the moſt proper plan for enſuring its ſucceſs. They agreed, that the father guardian ſhould endeavour to gain his monks to concur in promoting the deſign; that he ſhould introduce into the convent a certain number of choſen ſoldiers, diſguiſed in the habit of friars; that when every thing was ripe for execution, the governor of Thionville ſhould march towards Metz in the night with a conſiderable body of troops, and attempt to ſcale the ramparts; that while the garriſon was employed in reſiſting the aſſailants, the monks ſhould ſet fire to the town in different places; that the ſoldiers who lay concealed ſhould ſally out of the convent, and attack thoſe who defended the ramparts in the rear. Amidſt the univerſal terror and confuſion which events ſo unexpected would occaſion, it was not doubted but that the Imperialiſts might become maſters of the town. As a recompence for this ſervice the father guardian, ſtipulated that he ſhould be appointed biſhop of Metz, and ample rewards were promiſed to ſuch of his monks as ſhould be moſt active in co-operating with him.

The farther guardian accompliſhed what he had undertaken to perform with great ſecrecy and diſpatch. By his authority and arguments, as well as by the proſpect of wealth or honours which he ſet before his monks, he prevailed on all of them to enter into the conſpiracy. He introduced into the convent, without being ſuſpected, as many ſoldiers as were thought ſufficient. The governor of Thionville, apprized in due time of the deſign, had aſſembled a proper number of troops for executing it; and the moment approached, which probably would have wreſted from Henry the moſt important of all his conqueſts.

But, happily for France, on the very day that was fixed for ſtriking the blow, Vielleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a ſpy whom he entertained at Thionville, that certain Franciſcan friars reſorted frequently thither and were admitted to many private conferences

with the governor, who was carrying on preparations for ſome military enterpriſe with great diſpatch, but with a moſt myſterious ſecrecy. This was ſufficient to awaken Vielleville's ſuſpicions. Without communicating theſe to any perſon, he inſtantly viſited the convent of Franciſcans; detected the ſoldiers who were concealed there; and forced them to diſcover as much as they knew concerning the nature of the enterpriſe. The father guardian, who had gone to Thionville that he might put the laſt hand to his machinations, was ſeized at the gate as he returned; and he, in order to ſave himſelf from the rack, revealed all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy.

Vielleville, not ſatisfied with having ſeized the traitors, and having fruſtrated their ſchemes, was ſolicitous to take advantage of the diſcoveries which he had made, ſo as to be revenged on the Imperialiſts. For this purpoſe he marched out with the beſt troops in his garriſon, and placing theſe in ambuſh near the road, by which the father guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell upon the Imperialiſts with great fury, as they advanced in perfect ſecurity, without ſuſpecting any danger to be near. Confounded at this ſudden attack, by an enemy whom they expected to ſurpriſe, they made little reſiſtance; and a great part of the troops employed in this ſervice, among whom were many perſons of diſtinction, was killed or taken priſoners. Before next morning, Vielleville returned to Metz in triumph.

No reſolution was taken for ſome time concerning the fate of the father guardian and his monks, the framers and conductors of this dangerous conſpiracy. Regard for the honour of a body ſo numerous and reſpectable as the Franciſcans, and unwillingneſs to afford a ſubject of triumph to the enemies of the Romiſh church by their diſgrace, ſeem to have occaſioned this delay. But at length, the neceſſity of inflicting exemplary puniſhment upon them, in order to deter others from venturing to commit the ſame crime, ba-

came ſo evident, that orders were iſſued to proceed to their trial. The guilt was made apparent by the cleareſt evidence; and ſentence of death was paſſed upon the father guardian, together with twenty monks. On the evening previous to the day fixed for their execution, the gaoler took them out of the dungeons in which they had hitherto been confined ſeparately, and ſhut them all up in one great room, that they might confeſs their ſins to one another, and join together in preparing for a future ſtate. But as ſoon as they were left alone, inſtead of employing themſelves in the religious exerciſes ſuitable to their condition, they began to reproach the father guardian, and four of the ſenior monks who had been moſt active in ſeducing them, for their inordinate ambition, which had brought ſuch miſery on them, and ſuch diſgrace upon their order. From reproaches they proceeded to curſes and execrations, and at laſt, in a frenzy of rage and deſpair, they fell upon them with ſuch violence, that they murdered the father guardian on the ſpot, and ſo diſabled the other four, that it became neceſſary to carry them next morning in a cart, together with the dead body of the father guardian, to the place of execution. Six of the youngeſt were pardoned, the reſt ſuffered the puniſhment which their crime merited†.

Though both parties, exhauſted by the length of the war, carried it on in this languiſhing manner, neither of them ſhewed any diſpoſition to liſten to overtures of peace. Cardinal Pole indeed laboured with all the zeal becoming his piety and humanity, to re-eſtabliſh concord among the princes of Chriſtendom. He had not only perſuaded his miſtreſs, the queen of England, to enter warmly into his ſentiments, and to offer her mediation to the contending powers, but had prevailed both on the emperor and the king of France to ſend their plenipotentiaries to a village

† Thuan. lib. xv. p. 522. Belcar. Com. Rer. Gal. 866. Memoirs du Marech. Vielleville, par M. Charloix, tom iii. p. 249, &c. p. 347. Par. 1757.

between Gravelines and Ardres. He himſelf, together with Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, repaired thither in order to preſide as mediators in the conferences which were to be held for adjuſting all the points in difference. But though each of the monarchs committed this negotiation to ſome of their miniſters, in whom they placed the greateſt confidence, it was ſoon evident that they came together with no ſincere deſire of accommodation. [May 21] Each propoſed articles ſo extravagant that they could have no hopes of their being accepted. Pole, after exerting in vain all his zeal and addreſs, in order to perſuade them to relinquiſh ſuch extravagant demands, and to conſent to the ſubſtitution of more equal conditions, became ſenſible of the folly of waſting time, in attempting to re-eſtabliſh concord between thoſe whom their obſtinacy rendered irreconcilable, broke off the conference, and returned into England‡.

During theſe tranſactions in other parts of Europe, Germany enjoyed ſuch profound tranquillity, as afforded the diet full leiſure to deliberate, and to eſtabliſh proper regulations concerning a point of the greateſt conſequence to the internal peace of the empire. By the treaty of Paſſau in one thouſand five hundred and fifty-two, it had been referred to the next diet of the empire to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification, which was there agreed upon. The terror and confuſion with which the violent commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg had filled Germany, as well as the conſtant attention which Ferdinand was obliged to give to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto prevented the holding a diet, though it had been ſummoned, ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty, to meet at Augſburg.

But as a diet was now neceſſary on many accounts, Ferdinand about the beginning of this year had repaired to Augſburg. Though few of the princes were preſent either in perſon or by their deputies, he opened the aſſembly by

‡ Thuan. lib. xv. p. 523. Mem. de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 613.

a ſpeech, in which he propoſed a termination of the diſſenſions to which the new tenets and controverſies with regard to religion had given riſe, not only as the firſt and great buſineſs of the diet, but as the point which both the emperor and he had moſt at heart. He repreſented the innumerable obſtacles which the emperor had to ſurmount before he could procure the convocation of a general council, as well as the fatal accidents which had for ſome time retarded, and had at laſt ſuſpended the conſultations of that aſſembly. He obſerved, that experience had already taught them how vain it was to expect any remedy for evils which demanded immediate redreſs from a general council, the aſſembly of which would either be prevented, or its deliberations be interrupted by the diſſenſions and hoſtilities of the princes of Chriſtendom: that a national council in Germany, which, as ſome imagined, might be called with greater eaſe, and deliberate with more perfect ſecurity, was an aſſembly of an unprecedented nature, the juriſdiction of which was uncertain in its extent, and the form of its proceedings undefined: that in his opinion there remained but one method for compoſing their unhappy differences, which though it had been often tried without ſucceſs, might yet prove effectual if it were attempted with a better and more pacific ſpirit than had appeared on former occaſions, and that was to chuſe a few men of learning, abilities, and moderation, who, by diſcuſſing the diſputed articles, in an amicable conference, might explain them in ſuch a manner as to bring the contending parties either to unite in ſentiment, or to differ with charity.

This ſpeech being printed in common form, and diſperſed over the empire, revived the fears and jealouſies of the proteſtants; Ferdinand, they obſerved with much ſurpriſe, had not once mentioned, in his addreſs to the diet, the treaty of Paſſau, the ſtipulations which they conſidered as the great ſecurity of their religious liberty. The ſuſpicions to which this gave riſe were confirmed by the accounts which they

daily received of the extreme ſeverity with which Ferdinand treated their proteſtant brethren in his hereditary dominions, and, as it was natural to conſider his actions as the ſureſt indication of his intentions, this diminiſhed their confidence in thoſe pompous profeſſions of moderation or of zeal for the re-eſtabliſhment of concord, to which his practice ſeemed to be ſo repugnant.

The arrival of the cardinal Morone, whom the pope had appointed to attend the diet as his nuncio, completed their conviction, and left them no room to doubt that ſome dangerous machination was forming againſt the peace or ſafety of the proteſtant church. Julius, elated with the unexpected return of the Engliſh nation from apoſtaſy, began to flatter himſelf, that the ſpirit of mutiny and revolt having now ſpent its force, the happy period was come when the church might reſume its ancient authority, and be obeyed by the people with the ſame tame ſubmiſſion as formerly. Full of theſe hopes he had ſent Morone to Augſburg, with inſtructions to employ his eloquence to excite the Germans to imitate the laudable example of the Engliſh, and his political addreſs in order to prevent any decree of the diet to the detriment of the catholic faith. As Morone inherited from his father, the chancellor of Milan, uncommon talents for negotiation and intrigue, he could hardly have failed of embarraſſing the meaſures of the proteſtants in the diet, or of defeating whatever they aimed at obtaining in it for their farther ſecurity.

But an unforeſeen event delivered them from all the danger which they had reaſon to apprehend from Morone's preſence. Julius, by abandoning himſelf to pleaſures and amuſements, no leſs unbecoming his age than his character, having contracted ſuch habits of diſſipation, that any ſerious occupation, eſpecially if attended with difficulty, became an intolerable burden to him, had long reſiſted the ſolicitations of his nephew to hold a conſiſtory, becauſe he expected there a violent oppoſition to his ſchemes in favour of

that young man. But when all the pretexts which he could invent for eluding this requeſt were exhauſted, and at the ſame time his indolent averſion to buſineſs continued to grow upon him, he feigned indiſpoſition rather than yield to his nephew's importunity; and that he might give the deceit a greater colour of probability, he not only confined himſelf to his apartment, but changed his uſual diet and manner of life. By perſiſting too long in acting this ridiculous part, he contracted a real diſeaſe, of which he died in a few days [March 23,] leaving his infamous minion the cardinal de Monte to bear his name, and to diſgrace the dignity which he had conferred upon him*. As ſoon as Morone heard of his death, he ſet out abruptly from Augſburg, where he had reſided only a few days, that he might be preſent at the election of a new pontiff.

One cauſe of their ſuſpicions and fears being thus removed, the proteſtants ſoon became ſenſible that their conjectures concerning Ferdinand's intentions, however ſpecious, were ill-founded, and that he had no thoughts of violating the articles favourable to them in the treaty of Paſſau. Charles, from the time that Maurice had defeated all his ſchemes in the empire, and overturned the great ſyſtem of religious and civil deſpotiſm, which he had almoſt eſtabliſhed there, gave little attention to the internal government of Germany, and permitted his brother to purſue whatever meaſures he judged moſt ſalutary and expedient. Ferdinand, leſs ambitious and enterpriſing than the emperor, inſtead of reſuming a plan which he, with power and reſources ſo far ſuperior had failed of accompliſhing, endeavoured to attach the princes of the empire to his family by an adminiſtration uniformly moderate and equitable. To this he gave, at preſent, particular attention, becauſe his ſituation at this juncture rendered it neceſſary to court their favour and ſupport with more than uſual aſſiduity.

* Onuphr. Panvinius de Vitis Pontificum, p. 320. Thuan. lib. xv. 517.

Charles had again reſumed his favourite project of acquiring the Imperial crown for his ſon Philip, the proſecution of which, the reception it had met with when firſt propoſed had obliged him to ſuſpend, but had not induced him to relinquiſh. This led him warmly to renew his requeſt to his brother that he would accept of ſome compenſation for his prior right of ſucceſſion, and ſacrifice that to the grandeur of the houſe of Auſtria. Ferdinand, who was as little diſpoſed as formerly to give ſuch an extraordinary proof of ſelf-denial, being ſenſible that, in order to defeat this ſcheme, not only the moſt inflexible firmneſs on his part, but a vigorous declaration from the princes of the empire in behalf of his title, were requiſite, was willing to purchaſe their favour by gratifying them in every point that they deemed intereſting or eſſential.

At the ſame time he ſtood in need of immediate and extraordinary aid from the Germanic body, as the Turks, after having wreſted from him great part of his Hungarian territories, were ready to attack the provinces ſtill ſubject to his authority with a formidable army, againſt which he could bring no equal force into the field. For this aid from Germany he could not hope, if the internal peace of the empire were not eſtabliſhed on a foundation ſolid in itſelf, and which ſhould appear, even to the proteſtants, ſo ſecure and ſo permanent, as might not only allow them to engage in a diſtant war with ſafety, but might encourage them to act in it with vigour.

A ſtep taken by the proteſtants themſelves, a ſhort time after the opening of the diet, rendered him ſtill more cautious of giving them any new cauſe of offence. As ſoon as the publication of Ferdinand's ſpeech awakened the fears and ſuſpicions which have been mentioned, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, together with the landgrave of Heſſe, met at Naumburgh, and confirming the ancient treaty of confraternity which had long united their families, they added to it a new article, by which the contracting

parties bound themſelves to adhere to the confeſſion of Augſburg, and to maintain the doctrine which it contained in their reſpective dominions†.

Ferdinand, influenced by all theſe conſiderations, employed his utmoſt addreſs in conducting the deliberations of the diet, ſo as not to excite the jealouſy of a party on whoſe friendſhip he depended, and whoſe enmity, as they had not only taken the alarm, but had begun to prepare for their defence, he had ſo much reaſon to dread. The members of the diet readily agreed to Ferdinand's propoſal of taking the ſtate of religion into conſideration, previous to any other buſineſs. But as ſoon as they entered upon it, both parties diſcovered all the zeal and animoſity which a ſubject ſo intereſting naturally engenders, and which the rancour of controverſy, together with the violence of civil war, had inflamed to the higheſt pitch.

The proteſtants contended, that the ſecurity which they claimed in conſequence of the treaty of Paſſau ſhould extend, without limitation, to all who had hitherto embraced the doctrine of Luther, or who ſhould hereafter embrace it. The catholics, having firſt of all aſſerted the pope's right as the ſupreme and final judge with reſpect to all articles of faith, declared, that though, on account of the preſent ſituation of the empire, for the ſake of peace, they were willing to confirm the toleration granted by the treaty of Paſſau, to ſuch as had already adopted the new opinions; they muſt inſiſt that this indulgence ſhould not be extended either to thoſe cities which had conformed to the Interim, or to ſuch eccleſiaſtics as ſhould for the future apoſtatiſe from the church of Rome. It was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch oppoſite pretenſions, which were ſupported, on each ſide, by the moſt elaborate arguments, and the greateſt acrimony of expreſſion, that the abilities or zeal of theologians long exerciſed in diſputation could ſuggeſt. Ferdinand, however, by his addreſs and perſeverance; by ſoftening ſome things on

† Chytræi Saxonia, 480.

each ſide; by putting a favourable meaning upon others; by repreſenting inceſſantly the neceſſity as well as the advantages of concord; and by threatening, on ſome occaſions, when all other conſiderations were diſregarded, to diſſolve the diet, brought them at length to a concluſion in which they all agreed.

Conformably to this, a receſs was framed, approved of and publiſhed with the uſual formalities [Sept. 25.] The following are the chief articles which it contained: That ſuch princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the confeſſion of Augſburg, ſhall be permitted to profeſs the doctrine and exerciſe the worſhip which it authoriſes, without interruption or moleſtation from the emperor, the king of the Romans, or any power or perſon whatſoever; That the proteſtants, on their part, ſhall give no diſquiet to the princes and ſtates who adhere to the tenets and rites of the church of Rome; That, for the future, no attempt ſhall be made towards terminating religious differences, but by the gentle and pacific methods of perſuaſion and conference; That the popiſh eccleſiaſtics ſhall claim no ſpiritual juriſdiction in ſuch ſtates as receive the confeſſion of Augſburg; That ſuch as had ſeized the benefices or revenues of the church, previous to the treaty of Paſſau, ſhall retain poſſeſſion of them, and be liable to no proſecution in the Imperial chamber on that account; That the ſupreme civil power in every ſtate ſhall have right to eſtabliſh what form of doctrine and worſhip it ſhall deem proper, and if any of its ſubjects refuſe to conform to theſe, ſhall permit them to remove with all their effects whitherſoever they ſhall pleaſe; That if any prelate or eccleſiaſtic ſhall hereafter abandon the Romiſh religion, he ſhall inſtantly relinquiſh his dioceſe or benefice, and it ſhall be lawful for thoſe in whom the right of nomination is veſted, to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or tranſlation, and to appoint a ſucceſſor of undoubted attachment to the ancient ſyſtem†.

† Sleid. 620. F. Paul, 368. Pallav. p. 11. 161.

Such are the capital articles in this famous receſs, which is the baſis of religious peace in Germany, and the bond of union among its various ſtates, the ſentiments of which are ſo extremely different with reſpect to points the moſt intereſting as well as important. In our age and nation, to which the idea of toleration is familiar, and its beneficial effects well known, it may ſeem ſtrange, that a method of terminating their diſſenſions, ſo ſuitable to the mild and charitable ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, did not ſooner occur to the contending parties. But this expedient, however ſalutary, was ſo repugnant to the ſentiments and practice of Chriſtians during many ages, that it did not lie obvious to diſcovery. Among the ancient heathens, all whoſe deities were local and tutelary, diverſity of ſentiment concerning the object or rites of religious worſhip ſeems to have been no ſource of animoſity, becauſe the acknowledging veneration to be due to any one God, did not imply denial of the exiſtence or the power of any other God; nor were the modes and rites of worſhip eſtabliſhed in one country incompatible with thoſe which other nations approved of and obſerved. Thus the errors in their ſyſtem of theology were of ſuch a nature as to be productive of concord; and notwithſtanding the amazing number of their deities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a ſociable and tolerating ſpirit ſubſiſted almoſt univerſally in the pagan world.

But when the Chriſtian revelation declared one Supreme Being to be the ſole object of religious veneration, and preſcribed the form of worſhip moſt acceptable to him, whoever admitted the truth of it held, of conſequence, every other ſyſtem of religion, as a deviation from what was eſtabliſhed by divine authority, to be falſe and impious. Hence aroſe the zeal of the firſt converts to the Chriſtian faith in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they laboured to overturn every other form of worſhip. They employed, however, for this purpoſe, no methods but ſuch as ſuited the nature of religion. By the force of power-

ful arguments, they convinced the understandings of men; by the charms of superior virtue, they allured and captivated their hearts. At length the civil power declared in favour of Christianity; and though numbers, imitating the example of their superiors, crowded into the church, many still adhered to their ancient superstitions. Enraged at their obstinacy, the ministers of religion, whose zeal was still unabated, though their sanctity and virtue were much diminished, forgot so far the nature of their own mission, and of the arguments which they ought to have employed, that they armed the Imperial power against these unhappy men, and as they could not persuade, they tried to compel them to believe.

At the same time, controversies concerning articles of faith multiplied, from various causes, among Christians themselves, and the same unhallowed weapons which had first been used against the enemies of their religion, were turned against each other. Every zealous disputant endeavoured to interest the civil magistrate in his cause, and each in his turn employed the secular arm to crush or to exterminate his opponents. Not long after, the bishops of Rome put in their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith, and deciding points in controversy; and, bold as the pretension was, they by their artifices and perseverance, imposed on the credulity of mankind, and brought them to recognise it. To doubt or to deny any doctrine to which these unerring instructors had given the sanction of their approbation, was held to be not only a resisting of truth, but an act of rebellion against their sacred authority; and the secular power, of which by various arts they had acquired the absolute direction, was instantly employed to avenge both.

Thus Europe had been accustomed, during many centuries, to see speculative opinions propagated or defended by force; the charity and mutual forbearance which Christianity recommends with so much warmth, were forgotten, the sacred rights of conscience and of private judgement were

unheard of, and not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itſelf, in the ſenſe now affixed to it, was unknown. A right to extirpate error by force was univerſally allowed to be the prerogative of ſuch as poſſeſſed the knowledge of truth; and as each party of Chriſtians believed that they had got poſſeſſion of this invaluable attainment, they all claimed and exerciſed, as far as they were able, the rights which it was ſuppoſed to convey. The Roman catholics, as their ſyſtem reſted on the deciſions of an infallible judge, never doubted that truth was on their ſide, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators who had riſen up againſt it. The proteſtants, no leſs confident that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal ardour, the princes of their party to check ſuch as preſumed to impugn it. Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their reſpective countries, as far as they had power and opportunity, inflicted the ſame puniſhments upon ſuch as called in queſtion any article in their creeds, which were denounced againſt their own diſciples by the church of Rome. To their followers, and perhaps to their opponents, it would have appeared a ſyſtem of diffidence in the goodneſs of their cauſe, or an acknowledgment that it was not well founded, if they had not employed in its defence all thoſe means which it was ſuppoſed truth had a right to employ.

It was towards the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century before toleration, under its preſent form, was admitted firſt into the republic of the United Provinces, and from thence introduced into England. Long experience of the calamities flowing from mutual perſecution, the influence of free government, the light and humanity acquired by the progreſs of ſcience, together with the prudence and authority of the civil magiſtrate, were all requiſite in order to eſtabliſh a regulation, ſo repugnant to the ideas which all the different ſects had adopted, from miſtaken conceptions concerning the nature of religion and the rights of truth, or which

all of them had derived from the erroneous maxims eſtabliſhed by the church of Rome.

The receſs of Augſburg, it is evident, was founded on no ſuch liberal and enlarged ſentiments concerning freedom of religious inquiry, or the nature of toleration. It was nothing more than a ſcheme of pacification, which political conſiderations alone had ſuggeſted to the contending parties, and regard for their mutual tranquillity and ſafety had rendered neceſſary. Of this there can be no ſtronger proof than an article in the receſs itſelf, by which the benefits of the pacification are declared to extend only to the catholics on the one ſide, and to ſuch as adhered to the confeſſion of Augſburg on the other. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin remained, in conſequence of that excluſion, without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced againſt heretics. Nor did they obtain any legal ſecurity, until the treaty of Weſtphalia, near a century after this period, provided, that they ſhould be admitted to enjoy, in as ample a manner as the Lutherans, all the advantages and protection which the receſs of Augſburg affords.

But if the followers of Luther were highly pleaſed with the ſecurity which they acquired by this receſs, ſuch as adhered to the ancient ſyſtem had no leſs reaſon to be ſatisfied with that article in it, which preſerved entire to the Roman catholic church the benefices of ſuch eccleſiaſtics as ſhould hereafter renounce its doctrines. This article, known in Germany by the name of the *Eccleſiaſtical Reſervation*, was apparently ſo conformable to the idea and to the rights of an eſtabliſhed church, and it ſeemed ſo equitable to prevent revenues, which had been originally appropriated for the maintenance of perſons attached to a certain ſyſtem, from being alienated to any other purpoſe, that the proteſtants, though they foreſaw its conſequences, were obliged to relinquiſh their oppoſition to it. As the Roman catholic princes of the empire have taken care to ſee this article exactly obſerved in every caſe where there was an opportunity

of putting it in execution, it has proved the great barrier of the Romiſh church in Germany againſt the reformation; and as, from this period, the ſame temptation of intereſt did not allure eccleſiaſtics to relinquiſh the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, there have been few of that order, who have loved truth with ſuch diſintereſted and ardent affection, as, for its ſake, to abandon the rich beneſices which they had in poſſeſſion.

During the ſitting of the diet [April 9.] Marcellus Cervino, cardinal of St. Croce, was elected pope in the room of Julius. He, in imitation of Adrian, did not change his name on being exalted to the papal chair. As he equalled that pontiff in purity of intention, while he excelled him much in the arts of government, and ſtill more in knowledge of the ſtate and genius of the papal court; as he had capacity to diſcern what reformation it needed, as well as what it could bear; ſuch regulations were expected from his virtue and wiſdom, as would have removed many of its groſſeſt and moſt flagrant corruptions, and have contributed towards reconciling to the church ſuch as, from indignation at theſe enormities, had abandoned its communion. But this excellent pontiff was only ſhewn to the church, and immediately ſnatched away. The confinement in the conclave had impaired his health, and the fatigue of tedious ceremonies upon his acceſſion, together with too intenſe and anxious application of mind to the ſchemes of improvement which he meditated, exhauſted ſo entirely the vigour of his feeble conſtitution, that he ſickened on the twelfth, and died on the twentieth day after his election*.

All the refinements in artifice and intrigue, peculiar to conclaves, were diſplayed in that which was held for electing a ſucceſſor to Marcellus; the cardinals of the Imperial and French factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain the neceſſary number of ſuffrages for one of their own party. But, after a ſtruggle of no long duration, though con-

* Thuan. 520. F. Paul, 365. Onuph. Panvin. 321, &c.

ducted with all the warmth and eagerneſs natural to men contending for ſo great an object, they united in chuſing John Peter Caraffa [May 23,] the eldeſt member of the ſacred college, and the ſon of count Montorio, a nobleman of an illuſtrious family in the kingdom of Naples. The addreſs and influence of cardinal Farneſe, who favoured his pretenſions, Caraffa's own merit, and perhaps his great age, which ſoothed all the diſappointed candidates with the near proſpect of a new vacancy, concurred in bringing about this ſpeedy union of ſuffrages. In order to teſtify his reſpect for the memory of Paul III. by whom he had been created cardinal, as well as his gratitude to the family of Farneſe, he aſſumed the name of Paul IV.

The choice of a prelate of ſuch a ſingular character, and who had long held a courſe extremely different from that which uſually led to the dignity now conferred upon him, filled the Italians, who had neareſt acceſs to obſerve his manners and deportment, with aſtoniſhment, and kept them in ſuſpenſe and ſolicitude with regard to his future conduct. Paul, though born in a rank of life which, without any other merit, might have ſecured to him the higheſt eccleſiaſtical preferments, had, from his early years, applied to ſtudy with all the aſſiduity of a man who had nothing but his perſonal attainments to render him conſpicuous. By means of this, he not only acquired profound ſkill in ſcholaſtic theology, but added to that a conſiderable knowledge of the learned languages and of polite literature, the ſtudy of which had been lately revived in Italy, and was purſued at this time with great ardour. His mind, however, naturally gloomy and ſevere, was more formed to imbibe the ſour ſpirit of the former, than to receive any tincture of elegance or liberality of ſentiment from the latter; ſo that he acquired rather the qualities and paſſions of a recluſe eccleſiaſtic, than the talents neceſſary for the conduct of great affairs. Accordingly, when he entered into orders, although ſeveral rich benefices were beſtowed upon him, and he was

early employed as nuncio in different courts, he ſoon became diſguſted with that courſe of life, and languiſhed to be in a ſituation more ſuited to his taſte and temper. With this view, he reſigned at once all his eccleſiaſtical preferments; and having inſtituted an order of regular prieſts, whom he denominated Theatines, from the name of the archbiſhopric which he had held, he aſſociated himſelf as a member of their fraternity, conformed to all the rigorous rules to which he had ſubjected them, and preferred the ſolitude of a monaſtic life, with the honour of being the founder of a new order, to all the great objects which the court of Rome preſented to his ambition.

In this retreat he remained for many years, until Paul III. induced by the fame of his ſanctity and knowledge, called him to Rome, in order to conſult with him concerning the meaſures which might be moſt proper and effectual for ſuppreſſing hereſy, and re-eſtabliſhing the ancient authority of the church. Having thus allured him from his ſolitude, the pope, partly by his entreaties, and partly by his authority, prevailed on him to accept of a cardinal's hat, to re-aſſume the benefices which he had reſigned, and to return again into the uſual path of eccleſiaſtical ambition which he ſeemed to have relinquiſhed. But, during two ſucceſſive pontificates, under the firſt of which the court of Rome was the moſt artful and intereſted, and under the ſecond the moſt diſſolute of any in Europe, Caraffa retained his monaſtic auſterity. He was an avowed and bitter enemy not only of all innovation in opinion, but of every irregularity in practice; he was the chief inſtrument in eſtabliſhing the formidable and odious tribunal of the inquiſition in the papal territories; he appeared a violent advocate on all occaſions for the juriſdiction and diſcipline of the church, and a ſevere cenſurer of every meaſure which ſeemed to flow from motives of policy or intereſt, rather than from zeal for the honour of the eccleſiaſtical order, and the dignity of the holy ſee. Under a prelate of ſuch a character, the Roman

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courtiers expected a ſevere and violent pontificate, during which the principles of ſound policy would be ſacrificed to the narrow prejudices of prieſtly zeal; while the people of Rome were apprehenſive of ſeeing the ſordid and forbidding rigour of monaſtic manners ſubſtituted in place of the gaiety or magnificence to which they had long been accuſtomed in the papal court. Theſe apprehenſions Paul was extremly ſolicitous to remove. At his firſt entrance upon the adminiſtration, he laid aſide that auſterity which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed his perſon and family, and when the maſter of his houſehold inquired in what manner he would chuſe to live, he haughtily replied, "As becomes a great prince." He ordered the ceremony of his coronation to be conducted with more than uſual pomp; and endeavoured to render himſelf popular by ſeveral acts of liberality and indulgence towards the inhabitants of Rome†.

His natural ſeverity of temper, however, would have ſoon returned upon him, and would have juſtified the conjectures of the courtiers, as well as the fears of the people, if he had not, immediately after his election, called to Rome two of his nephews, the ſons of his brother the count of Montorio. The eldeſt he promoted to be governor of Rome. The youngeſt, who had hitherto ſerved as a ſoldier of fortune in the armies of Spain or France, and whoſe diſpoſition as well as manners were ſtill more foreign from the clerical character than his profeſſion, he created a cardinal, and appointed him legate of Bologna, the ſecond office in power and dignity which a pope can beſtow. Theſe marks of favour, no leſs ſudden than extravagant, he accompanied with the moſt unbounded confidence and attachment, and forgetting all his former ſevere maxims, he ſeemed to have no other object than the aggrandizement of his nephews. Their ambition, unfortunately for Paul, was too aſpiring to be ſatisfied with any moderate acquiſition. They had ſeen the family of Medici raiſed by the intereſt of the popes of that houſe to ſu-

† Platina, p. 327. Caſtaldo Vita di Paolo IV. Rom. 1615, p. 70.

preme power in Tuſcany; Paul III. had, by his abilities and addreſs, ſecured the dutchies of Parma and Placentia to the family of Farneſe. They aimed at ſome eſtabliſhment for themſelves, no leſs conſiderable and independent; and as they could not expect that the pope would carry his indulgence towards them ſo far as to ſecularize any part of the patrimony of the church, they had no proſpect of attaining what they wiſhed, but by diſmembering the Imperial dominions in Italy, in hopes of ſeizing ſome portion of them. This alone they would have deemed a ſufficient reaſon for ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord between their uncle and the emperor.

But cardinal Caraffa had, beſides, private reaſons which filled him with hatred and enmity to the emperor. While he ſerved in the Spaniſh troops he had not received ſuch marks of honour and diſtinction as he thought due to his birth and merit. Diſguſted with this ill-uſage, he had abruptly quitted the Imperial ſervice; and entering into that of France, he had not only met with ſuch a reception as ſoothed his vanity, and attached him to the French intereſt, but by contracting an intimate friendſhip with Strozzi, who commanded the French army in Tuſcany, he had imbibed a mortal antipathy to the emperor as the great enemy to the liberty and independence of the Italian ſtates. Nor was the pope himſelf indiſpoſed to receive impreſſions unfavourable to the emperor. The oppoſition given to his election by the cardinals of the Imperial faction, left in his mind deep reſentment, which was heightened by the remembrance of ancient injuries from Charles or his miniſters.

Of this his nephews took advantage, and employed various devices, in order to exaſperate him beyond a poſſibility of reconciliation. They aggravated every circumſtance which could be deemed any indication of the emperor's diſſatisfaction with his promotion; they read to him an intercepted letter, in which Charles taxed the cardinals of his party with negligence or incapacity in not having defeated

Paul's election: they pretended, at one time, to have diſcovered a conſpiracy formed by the Imperial miniſter and Coſmo di Medici againſt the pope's life; they alarmed him, at another, with accounts of a plot for aſſaſſinating themſelves. By theſe artifices, they kept his mind, which was naturally violent, and become ſuſpicious from old age, in ſuch perpetual agitation, as precipitated him into meaſures which otherwiſe he would have been the firſt perſon to condemn‡. He ſeized ſome of the cardinals who were moſt attached to the emperor, and confined them in the caſtle of St. Angelo; he perſecuted the Colonnas and other Roman barons, the ancient retainers to the Imperial faction, with the utmoſt ſeverity; and diſcovering on all occaſions his diſtruſt, fear, or hatred of the emperor, he began at laſt to court the friendſhip of the French king, and ſeemed willing to throw himſelf abſolutely upon him for ſupport and protection.

This was the very point to which his nephews wiſhed to bring him, as moſt favourable to their ambitious ſchemes; and as the accompliſhment of theſe depended on their uncle's life, whoſe advanced age did not admit of loſing a moment unneceſſarily in negotiations, inſtead of treating at ſecond-hand with the French ambaſſador at Rome, they prevailed on the pope to diſpatch a perſon of confidence directly to the court of France, with ſuch overtures on his part as they hoped would not be rejected. He propoſed an alliance offenſive and defenſive between Henry and the pope; that they ſhould attack the dutchy of Tuſcany and the kingdom of Naples with their united forces; and if their arms ſhould prove ſucceſsful, that the ancient republican form of government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the former, and the inveſtiture of the latter ſhould be granted to one of the French king's ſons, after reſerving a certain territory which ſhould be annexed to the patrimony of the church, together with

‡ Ripamontii Hiſt. Patriæ, lib. iii. 1146. ap. Græv. Theſ. vol. ii. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 615. Adriani Iſtor. i. 906.

an independent and princely eſtabliſhment for each of the pope's nephews.

The king, allured by theſe ſpecious projects, gave a moſt favourable audience to the envoy. But when the matter was propoſed in council, the conſtable Montmorency, whoſe natural caution and averſion to daring enterpriſes increaſed with age and experience, remonſtrated with great vehemence againſt the alliance. He put Henry in mind how fatal to France every expedition into Italy had been during three ſucceſſive reigns, and if ſuch an enterpriſe had proved too great for the nation even when its ſtrength and finances were entire, there was no reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, if it ſhould be attempted now, when both were exhauſted by extraordinary efforts during wars, which had laſted, with little interruption, almoſt half a century. He repreſented the manifeſt imprudence of entering into engagements with a pope of fourſcore, as any ſyſtem which reſted on no better foundation than his life, muſt be extremely precarious, and upon the event of his death, which could not be diſtant, the face of things, together with the inclination of the Italian ſtates, muſt inſtantly change, and the whole weight of the war be left upon the king alone. To theſe conſiderations he added the near proſpect which they now had of a final accommodation with the emperor, who, having taken the reſolution of retiring from the world, wiſhed to tranſmit his kingdoms in peace to his ſon; and he concluded with repreſenting the abſolute certainty of drawing the arms of England upon France, if it ſhould appear that the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity in Europe was prevented by the ambition of its monarch.

Theſe arguments, weighty in themſelves, and urged by a miniſter of great authority, would probably have determined the king to decline any connection with the pope. But the duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal of Lorrain, who delighted no leſs in bold and dangerous undertakings than Montmorency ſhunned them, declared warmly for an alliance

with the pope. The cardinal expected to be entruſted with the conduct of the negotiations in the court of Rome to which this alliance would give riſe; the duke hoped to obtain the command of the army which would be appointed to invade Naples; and conſidering themſelves as already in theſe ſtations, vaſt projects opened to their aſpiring and unbounded ambition. Their credit, together with the influence of the king's miſtreſs, the famous Diana of Poitiers, who was, at that time, entirely devoted to the intereſt of the family of Guiſe, more than counterbalanced all Montmorency's prudent remonſtrances, and prevailed on an inconſiderate prince to liſten to the overtures of the pope's envoy.

The cardinal of Lorrain, as he had expected, was immediately ſent to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert meaſures for carrying it into execution. Before he could reach that city, the pope, either from reflecting on the danger and uncertain iſſue of all military operations, or through the addreſs of the Imperial ambaſſador, who had been at great pains to ſoothe him, had not only begun to loſe much of the ardour with which he had commenced the negotiation with France, but even diſcovered great unwillingneſs to continue it. In order to rouſe him from this fit of deſpondency, and to rekindle his former rage, his nephews had recourſe to the arts which they had already practiſed with ſo much ſucceſs. They alarmed him with new repreſentations of the emperor's hoſtile intentions, with freſh accounts which they had received of threats uttered againſt him by the Imperial miniſters, and with new diſcoveries which they pretended to have made of conſpiracies formed, and juſt ready to take effect againſt his life.

But theſe artifices, having been formerly tried, would not have operated a ſecond time with the ſame force, nor have made the impreſſion which they wiſhed, if Paul had not been excited by an offence of that kind which he was leaſt able to bear. He received advice of the receſs of the diet of Augſburg, and of the toleration which was thereby

granted to the proteſtants; and this threw him at once into ſuch tranſports of paſſion againſt the emperor and the king of the Romans, as carried him headlong into all the violent meaſures of his nephews. Full of high ideas with reſpect to the papal prerogative, and animated with the fierceſt zeal againſt hereſy, he conſidered the liberty of deſiding concerning religious matters, which had been aſſumed by an aſſembly compoſed chiefly of laymen, as a preſumptuous and unpardonable encroachment on that juriſdiction which belonged to him alone; and regarded the indulgence which had been given to the proteſtants as an impious act of that power which the diet had uſurped. He complained loudly of both to the Imperial ambaſſador. He inſiſted that the receſs of the diet ſhould immediately be declared illegal and void. He threatened the emperor and king of the Romans, in caſe they ſhould either refuſe or delay to gratify him in this particular, with the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance. He talked in a tone of authority and command which might have ſuited a pontiff of the twelfth century, when a papal decree was ſufficient to have ſhaken, or to have overturned, the throne of the greateſt monarch in Europe; but which was altogether improper in that age, eſpecially when addreſſed to the miniſter of a prince who had ſo often made pontiffs more formidable than Paul feel the weight of his power. The ambaſſador, however, heard all his extravagant propoſitions and menaces with much patience, and endeavoured to ſoothe him, by putting him in mind of the extreme diſtreſs to which the emperor had been reduced at Inſpruck, of the engagements which he had come under to the proteſtants, in order to extricate himſelf, of the neceſſity of fulfilling theſe, and of accommodating his conduct to the ſituation of his affairs. But weighty as theſe conſiderations were, they made no impreſſion on the mind of the haughty and bigoted pontiff, who inſtantly replied that he would abſolve him by his apoſtolic authority from thoſe impious engagements, and even command him not to perform

them; that in carrying on the cauſe of God and of the church, no regard ought to be had to the maxims of worldly prudence and policy; and that the ill ſucceſs of the emperor's ſchemes in Germany might juſtly be deemed a mark of the divine diſpleaſure againſt him, on account of his having paid little attention to the former, while he regulated his conduct entirely by the latter. Having ſaid this, he turned from the ambaſſador abruptly without waiting for a reply.

His nephews took care to applaud and cheriſh theſe ſentiments, and eaſily wrought up his arrogant mind, fraught with all the monkiſh ideas concerning the extent of the papal ſupremacy, to ſuch a pitch of reſentment againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and to ſuch an high opinion of his own power, that he talked continually of his being the ſucceſſor of thoſe who had depoſed kings and emperors; that he was exalted as head over them all, and would trample ſuch as oppoſed him under his feet. In this diſpoſition the cardinal of Lorrain found the pope, and eaſily perſuaded him to ſign a treaty [Dec. 15,] which had for its object the ruin of a prince, againſt whom he was ſo highly exaſperated. The ſtipulations in this treaty were much the ſame as had been propoſed by the pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole tranſaction ſecret until their united forces ſhould be ready to take the field†.

During the negotiation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened which ſeemed to render the fears that had given riſe to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unneceſſary. This was the emperor's reſignation of his hereditary dominions to his ſon Philip; together with his reſolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in buſineſs or the affairs of this world, in order that he might ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement and ſolitude. Though it requires neither deep reflection nor extraordinary diſcernment to diſcover that the ſtate of royal-

† Pallav. lib. xiii. p. 163. F. Paul, 365. Thuan. lib. xv. 525. lib. xvi. 540. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 609, &c.

ty is not exempt from cares and diſappointment; though moſt of thoſe who are exalted to a throne find ſolicitude, and ſatiety, and diſguſt to be their perpetual attendants in that envied pre eminence; yet to deſcend voluntarily from the ſupreme to a ſubordinate ſtation, and to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of power in order to attain the enjoyment of happineſs, ſeems to be an effort too great for the human mind. Several inſtances, indeed, occur in hiſtory, of monarchs who have quitted a throne, and have ended their days in retirement. But they were either weak princes who took this reſolution raſhly, and repented of it as ſoon as it was taken; or unfortunate princes, from whoſe hands ſome ſtronger rival had wreſted their ſceptre, and compelled them to deſcend with reluctance into a private ſtation. Diocleſian is perhaps the only prince capable of holding the reins of government, who ever reſigned them from deliberate choice, and who continued during many years to enjoy the tranquillity of retirement without fetching one penitent ſigh, or caſting back one look of deſire, towards the power or dignity which he had abandoned.

No wonder, then, that Charles's reſignation ſhould fill all Europe with aſtoniſhment, and give riſe, both among his contemporaries, and among the hiſtorians of that period, to various conjectures concerning the motives which determined a prince, whoſe ruling paſſion had been uniformly the love of power, at the age of fifty-ſix, when objects of ambition continue to operate with full force on the mind, and are purſued with the greateſt ardour, to take a reſolution ſo ſingular and unexpected. But while many authors have imputed it to motives ſo frivolous and fantaſtical, as can hardly be ſuppoſed to influence any reaſonable mind; while others have imagined it to be the reſult of ſome profound ſcheme of policy; hiſtorians more intelligent, and better informed, neither aſcribe it to caprice, nor ſearch for myſterious ſecrets of ſtate, where ſimple and obvious cauſes will fully account for the emperor's conduct. Charles had been attacked ear-

ly in life with the gout, and notwithſtanding all the precautions of the moſt ſkilful phyſicians, the violence of the diſtemper increaſed as he advanced in age, and the fits became every year more frequent, as well as more ſevere. Not only was the vigour of his conſtitution broken, but the faculties of his mind were impaired by the excruciating torments which he endured. During the continuance of the fits, he was altogether incapable of applying to buſineſs, and even when they began to abate, as it was only at intervals that he could attend to what was ſerious, he gave up a great part of his time to trifling and even childiſh occupations, which ſerved to relieve or to amuſe his mind, enfeebled and worn out with exceſs of pain. Under theſe circumſtances, the conduct of ſuch affairs as occurred of courſe, in governing ſo many kingdoms, was a burden more than ſufficient; but to puſh forward and complete the vaſt ſchemes which the ambition of his more active years had formed, or to keep in view and carry on the ſame great ſyſtem of policy, extending to every nation in Europe, and connected with the operations of every different court, were functions which ſo far exceeded his ſtrength, that they oppreſſed and overwhelmed his mind. As he had been long accuſtomed to view the buſineſs of every department, whether civil, or military, or eccleſiaſtical, with his own eyes, and to decide concerning it according to his own ideas, it gave him the utmoſt pain when he felt his infirmities increaſe ſo faſt upon him, that he was obliged to commit the conduct of all affairs to his miniſters. He imputed every misfortune which befel him, and every miſcarriage that happened, even when the former was unavoidable and the latter accidental, to his inability to take the inſpection of buſineſs himſelf. He complained of his hard fortune, in being oppoſed, in his declining years, to a rival, who was in the full vigour of life, and that while Henry could take and execute all his reſolutions in perſon, he ſhould now be reduced, both in council and in action, to rely on the talents and exertions of other men. Having thus

grown old before his time, he wiſely judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in ſome ſolitude, than to expoſe them any longer to the public eye; and prudently determined not to forfeit the fame, or loſe the acquiſitions of his better years, by ſtruggling, with a vain obſtinacy, to retain the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with ſteadineſs, or to guide them with addreſs*.

But though Charles had revolved this ſcheme in his mind for ſeveral years, and had communicated it to his ſiſters the dowager queens of France and Hungary, who not only approved of his intention, but offered to accompany him to whatever place of retreat he ſhould chuſe; ſeveral things had hitherto prevented his carrying it into execution. He could not think of loading his ſon with the government of ſo many kingdoms, until he ſhould attain ſuch maturity of age, and

* Dom Leveſque, in his memoirs of cardinal Granvelle, gives a reaſon for the emperor's reſignation, which, as far as I recollect, is not mentioned by any other hiſtorian. He ſays, that the emperor having ceded the government of the kingdom of Naples and the dutchy of Milan to his ſon, upon his marriage with the queen of England; Philip, notwithſtanding the advice and intreaties of his father, removed moſt of the miniſters and officers whom he had employed in thoſe countries, and appointed creatures of his own, to fill the places which they held. That he aſpired openly, and with little delicacy, to obtain a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs in the Low-Countries. That he endeavoured to thwart the emperor's meaſures, and to limit his authority, behaving towards him ſometimes with inattention, and ſometimes with haughtineſs. That Charles finding that he muſt either yield on every occaſion to his ſon, or openly contend with him, in order to avoid either of theſe, which were both diſagreeable and mortifying to a father, he took the reſolution of reſigning his crowns, and of retiring from the world, vol. i. p. 24, &c. Dom Leveſque derived his information concerning theſe curious facts, which he relates very briefly, from the original papers of cardinal Granvelle. But as that vaſt collection of papers, which has been preſerved and arranged by M. l'abbé Boizot of Beſançon, though one of the moſt valuable hiſtorical monuments of the ſixteenth century, and which cannot fail of throwing much light on the tranſactions of Charles V. is not publiſhed, I cannot determine what degree of credit ſhould be given to this account of Charles's reſignation. I have therefore taken no notice of it in relating this event.

of abilities, as would enable him to ſuſtain that weighty burden. But as Philip had now reached his twenty-eight year, and had been early accuſtomed to buſineſs, for which he diſcovered both inclination and capacity, it can hardly be imputed to the partiality of paternal affection, that his ſcruples, with regard to this point, were entirely removed; and that he thought he might place his ſon, without further heſitation or delay, on the throne which he himſelf was about to abandon. His mother's ſituation had been another obſtruction in his way. For although ſhe had continued almoſt fifty years in confinement, and under the ſame diſorder of mind which concern for her huſband's death had brought upon her, yet the government of Spain was ſtill veſted in her jointly with the emperor; her name was inſerted together with his in all the public inſtruments iſſued in that kingdom; and ſuch was the fond attachment of the Spaniards to her, that they would probably have ſcrupled to recogniſe Philip as their ſovereign, unleſs ſhe had conſented to aſſume him as her partner on the throne. Her utter incapacity for buſineſs rendered it impoſſible to obtain her conſent. But her death, which happened this year, removed this difficulty; and as Charles, upon that event, became ſole monarch of Spain, it left the ſucceſſion open to his ſon. The war with France had likewiſe been a reaſon for retaining the adminiſtration of affairs in his own hand, as he was extremely ſolicitous to have terminated it, that he might have given up his kingdoms to his ſon at peace with all the world. But as Henry had diſcovered no diſpoſition to cloſe with any of his overtures, and had even rejected propoſals of peace, which were equal and moderate, in a tone that ſeemed to indicate a fixed purpoſe of continuing hoſtilities, he ſaw that it was vain to wait longer in expectation of an event, which, however deſirable, was altogether uncertain.

As this, then, appeared to be the proper juncture for executing the ſcheme which he had long meditated, Charles reſolved to reſign his kingdoms to his ſon, with a ſolemnity

ſuitable to the importance of the tranſaction, and to perform this laſt act of ſovereignty with ſuch formal pomp, as might leave a laſting impreſſion on the minds not only of his ſubjects but of his ſucceſſor. With this view he called Philip out of England, where the peevish temper of his queen, which increaſed with her deſpair of having iſſue, rendered him extremely unhappy; and the jealouſy of the Engliſh left him no hopes of obtaining the direction of their affairs. Having aſſembled the States of the Low-Countries at Bruſſels, on the twenty-fifth of October, Charles ſeated himſelf, for the laſt time, in the chair of ſtate, on one ſide of which was placed his ſon, and on the other his ſiſter, the queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, with a ſplendid retinue of the princes of the empire and grandees of Spain ſtanding behind him. The preſident of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained, in a few words, his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the States. He then read the inſtrument of reſignation, by which Charles ſurrendered to his ſon Philip all his territories, juriſdiction, and authority in the Low-Countries, abſolving his ſubjects there from their oath of allegiance to him, which he required them to transfer to Philip his lawful heir, and to ſerve him with the ſame loyalty and zeal which they had manifeſted, during ſo long a courſe of years, in ſupport of his government.

Charles then roſe from his ſeat, and leaning on the ſhoulder of the prince of Orange, becauſe he was unable to ſtand without ſupport, he addreſſed himſelf to the audience, and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to aſſiſt his memory, he recounted, with dignity, but without oſtentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed ſince the commencement of his adminiſtration. He obſerved, that, from the ſeventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to public objects, reſerving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his eaſe, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleaſure; that

either in a pacific or hoſtile manner, he had viſited Germany nine times, Spain ſix times, France four times, Italy ſeven times, the Low-Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by ſea; that while his health permitted him to diſcharge his duty, and the vigour of his conſtitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of governing ſuch extenſive dominions, he had never ſhunned labour, nor repined under fatigue; that now when his health was broken, and his vigour exhauſted by the rage of an incurable diſtemper, his growing infirmities admoniſhed him to retire, nor was he ſo fond of reigning, as to retain the ſceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his ſubjects, or to ſecure to them the happineſs which he wiſhed they ſhould enjoy; that inſtead of a ſovereign worn out with diſeaſe, and ſcarcely half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accuſtomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth all the attention and ſagacity of maturer years; that if, during the courſe of a long adminiſtration, he had committed any material error in government, or if, under the preſſure of ſo many and great affairs, and amidſt the attention which he had been obliged to give to them, he had either neglected or injured any of his ſubjects, he now implored their forgiveneſs; that, for his part, he ſhould ever retain a grateful ſenſe of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him to the place of his retreat, as his ſweeteſt conſolation, as well as the beſt reward for all his ſervices, and in his laſt prayers to Almighty God would pour forth his moſt earneſt petitions for their welfare.

Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kiſſed his father's hand, "If," ſays he, "I had left you by my death this rich inheritance, to which I have made ſuch large additions, ſome regard would have been juſtly due to my memory on that account; but now, when I voluntarily reſign to you what I might have ſtill retained, I may well expect the warmeſt expreſſions of thanks on your part.

With theſe, however, I diſpenſe, and ſhall conſider your concern for the welfare of your ſubjects, and your love of them, as the beſt and moſt acceptable teſtimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration, to juſtify the extraordinary proof which I, this day, give of my paternal affection, and to demonſtrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repoſe in you. Preſerve an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be ſacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people; and if the time ſhould ever come when you ſhall wiſh to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a ſon endowed with ſuch qualities, that you can reſign your ſceptre to him with as much ſatisfaction as I give up mine to you."

As ſoon as Charles had finiſhed this long addreſs to his ſubjects and to their new ſovereign, he ſunk into the chair, exhauſted and ready to faint with the fatigue of ſuch an extraordinary effort. During his diſcourſe, the whole audience melted into tears, ſome from admiration of his magnanimity, others ſoftened by the expreſſions of tenderneſs towards his ſon, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepeſt ſorrow at loſing a ſovereign, who, during his adminiſtration, had diſtinguiſhed the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of his regard and attachment.

Philip then aroſe from his knees, and after returning thanks to his father, with a low and ſubmiſſive voice, for the royal gift which his unexampled bounty had beſtowed upon him, he addreſſed the aſſembly of the States, and regretting his inability to ſpeak the Flemiſh language with ſuch facility as to expreſs what he felt on this intereſting occaſion, as well as what he owed to his good ſubjects in the Netherlands, he begged that they would permit Granvelle biſhop of Arras to deliver what he had given him in charge to ſpeak in his name. Granvelle, in a long diſcourſe, expa-

tiated on the zeal with which Philip was animated for the good of his ſubjects, on his reſolution to devote all his time and talents to the promoting of their happineſs, and on his intention to imitate his father's example in diſtinguiſhing the Netherlands with peculiar marks of his regard. Maëïs, a lawyer of great eloquence, replied, in the name of the States, with large profeſſions of their fidelity and affection to their new ſovereign.

1556.] Then Mary, queen-dowager of Hungary, reſigned the regency with which ſhe had been entruſted by her brother during the ſpace of twenty-five years. Next day [Jan. 6.] Philip, in preſence of the States, took the uſual oaths to maintain the rights and privileges of his ſubjects; and all the members, in their own name, and in that of their conſtituents, ſwore allegiance to him*.

A few weeks after this tranſaction, Charles, in an aſſembly no leſs ſplendid, and with a ceremonial equally pompous, reſigned to his ſon the crowns of Spain, with all the territories depending on them, both in the old and in the new world. Of all theſe vaſt poſſeſſions, he reſerved nothing for himſelf but an annual penſion of an hundred thouſand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a ſmall ſum for acts of beneficence and charity†.

* Godleveus Relatio Abdicationis Car. V. ap. Goldaſt. Polit. Imper. p. 377. Strada de Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 5.

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As he had fixed on a place of retreat in Spain, hoping that the dryneſs of the air and the warmth of the climate in that country might mitigate the violence of his diſeaſe, which had been much increaſed by the moiſture of the air and the rigour of the winters in the Netherlands, he was extremely impatient to embark for that kingdom, and to diſengage himſelf entirely from buſineſs, which he found to be impoſſible while he remained in Bruſſels. But his phyſicians remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly againſt his venturing to ſea at that cold and boiſterous ſeaſon of the year, that he conſented, though with reluctance, to put off his voyage for ſome months.

By yielding to their intreaties, he had the ſatisfaction, before he left the Low-Countries, of taking a conſiderable ſtep towards a peace with France, which he ardently wiſhed for, not only on his ſon's account, but that he might have

Godleveus in his account of this matter, tom. i. 155. as likewiſe does Pallavicini, whoſe authority with reſpect to dates, and every thing where a minute accuracy is requiſite, is of great weight, Hiſt. lib. xvi. p. 168. Hiſtorians differ no leſs with regard to the day on which Charles reſigned the crown of Spain to his ſon. According to M. de Thou, it was a month after his having reſigned his dominions in the Netherlands, i. e. about the 25th of November, Thuan. lib. xvi. p. 571. According to Sandoval, it was on the 16th of January, 1556, Sand. ii. 603. Antonio de Vera agrees with him, Epitome del Vida del Car. V. p. 110. According to Pallavicini, it was on the 17th, Pal. lib. xvi. p. 168. and with him Herrera agrees, Vida del D. Felipe, tom. i. p. 233. But Ferreras fixes it on the firſt day of January, Hiſt. Gener. tom. ix. p. 371. M. de Beaucaire ſuppoſes the reſignation of the crown of Spain to have been executed a few days after the reſignation of the Netherlands, Com. de Reb. Gall. p. 879. It is remarkable, that in the treaty of truce at Vaucelles, though Charles had made over all his dominions to his ſon ſome weeks previous to the concluſion of it, all the ſtipulations are in the emperor's name, and Philip is only ſtyled king of England and Naples. It is certain Philip was not proclaimed king of Caſtile, &c. at Valladolid ſooner than the 24th of March, Sandov. ii. p. 606; and previous to that ceremony, he did not chuſe, it ſhould ſeem, to aſſume the title of king of any of his Spaniſh kingdoms, or to perform any act of royal juriſdiction. In a deed annexed to the treaty of truce, dated April 19, he aſſumes the title of king of Caſtile, &c. in the uſual ſtyle of the Spaniſh monarchs in that age. Corps Dipl. tom. iv. Append. p. 85.

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* Godleveus Relatio Abdicationis Car. V. ap. Goldaſt. Polit. Imper. p. 377. Strada de Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 5.

† The emperor's reſignation is an event not only of ſuch importance, but of ſuch a nature, that the preciſe date of it, one would expect, ſhould have been aſcertained by hiſtorians with the greateſt accuracy. There is, however, an amazing and an unaccountable diverſity among them with regard to this point. All agree that the deed by which Charles transferred to his ſon his dominions in the Netherlands, bears date at Bruſſels the 25th of October. Sandoval fixes on the 28th of October as the day on which the ceremony of reſignation happened, and he was preſent at the tranſaction, vol. ii. p. 592. Godleveus, who publiſhed a treatiſe de Abdicatione Caroli V. fixes the public ceremony, as well as the date of the inſtrument of reſignation, on the 25th. Pere Barre, I know not upon what authority, fixes it on the 24th of November, Hiſt. d'Alem. viii. 976. Herrera agrees with

As he had fixed on a place of retreat in Spain, hoping that the dryneſs of the air and the warmth of the climate in that country might mitigate the violence of his diſeaſe, which had been much increaſed by the moiſture of the air and the rigour of the winters in the Netherlands, he was extremely impatient to embark for that kingdom, and to diſengage himſelf entirely from buſineſs, which he found to be impoſſible while he remained in Bruſſels. But his phyſicians remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly againſt his venturing to ſea at that cold and boiſterous ſeaſon of the year, that he conſented, though with reluctance, to put off his voyage for ſome months.

By yielding to their intreaties, he had the ſatisfaction, before he left the Low-Countries, of taking a conſiderable ſtep towards a peace with France, which he ardently wiſhed for, not only on his ſon's account, but that he might have

Godleveus in his account of this matter, tom. i. 155. as likewiſe does Pallavicini, whoſe authority with reſpect to dates, and every thing where a minute accuracy is requiſite, is of great weight, Hiſt. lib. xvi. p. 168. Hiſtorians differ no leſs with regard to the day on which Charles reſigned the crown of Spain to his ſon. According to M. de Thou, it was a month after his having reſigned his dominions in the Netherlands, i. e. about the 25th of November, Thuan. lib. xvi. p. 571. According to Sandoval, it was on the 16th of January, 1556, Sand. ii. 603. Antonio de Vera agrees with him, Epitome del Vida del Car. V. p. 110. According to Pallavicini, it was on the 17th, Pal. lib. xvi. p. 168. and with him Herrera agrees, Vida del D. Felipe, tom. i. p. 233. But Ferreras fixes it on the firſt day of January, Hiſt. Gener. tom. ix. p. 371. M. de Beaucaire ſuppoſes the reſignation of the crown of Spain to have been executed a few days after the reſignation of the Netherlands, Com. de Reb. Gall. p. 879. It is remarkable, that in the treaty of truce at Vaucelles, though Charles had made over all his dominions to his ſon ſome weeks previous to the concluſion of it, all the ſtipulations are in the emperor's name, and Philip is only ſtyled king of England and Naples. It is certain Philip was not proclaimed king of Caſtile, &c. at Valladolid ſooner than the 24th of March, Sandov. ii. p. 606; and previous to that ceremony, he did not chuſe, it ſhould ſeem, to aſſume the title of king of any of his Spaniſh kingdoms, or to perform any act of royal juriſdiction. In a deed annexed to the treaty of truce, dated April 19, he aſſumes the title of king of Caſtile, &c. in the uſual ſtyle of the Spaniſh monarchs in that age. Corps Dipl. tom. iv. Append. p. 85.

the merit, when quitting the world, of re-eſtabliſhing that tranquillity in Europe, which he had baniſhed out of it almoſt from the time that he had aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs. Previous to his reſignation, commiſſioners had been appointed by him and by the French king, in order to treat of an exchange of priſoners. In their conference at the Abbey of Vaucelles, near Cambray, an expedient was accidentally propoſed for terminating hoſtilities between the contending monarchs, by a long truce, during the ſubſiſtence of which, and without diſcuſſing their reſpective claims, each ſhould retain what was now in his poſſeſſion. Charles, ſenſible how much his kingdoms were exhauſted by the expenſive and almoſt continual wars in which his ambition had engaged him, and eager to gain for his ſon a ſhort interval of peace, that he might eſtabliſh himſelf firmly on his throne, declared warmly for cloſing with the overture, though manifeſtly diſhonourable as well as diſadvantageous; and ſuch was the reſpect due to his wiſdom and experience, that Philip, notwithſtanding his unwillingneſs to purchaſe peace by ſuch conceſſions, did not preſume to urge his opinion in oppoſition to that of his father.

Henry could not have heſitated one moment about giving his conſent to a truce on ſuch conditions, as would leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of the greater part of the duke of Savoy's dominions, together with the important conqueſts which he had made on the German frontier. But it was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch a ſtep with the engagements which he had come under to the pope, in his late treaty with him. The conſtable Montmorency, however, repreſented in ſuch a ſtriking light the imprudence of ſacrificing the true intereſts of his kingdom to theſe raſh obligations, and took ſuch advantage of the abſence of the cardinal of Lorrain, who had ſeduced the king into his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, who was naturally fluctuating and unſteady, and apt to be influenced by the advice laſt given him, authoriſed his ambaſſadors [5th Feb.] to ſign a

treaty of truce with the emperor for five years, on the terms which had been propoſed. But that he might not ſeem to have altogether forgotten his ally the pope, who, he foreſaw, would be highly exaſperated, he, in order to ſoothe him, took care that he ſhould be expreſsly included in the truce*.

The count of Lalain repaired to Blois, and the admiral Coligny to Bruſſels, the former to be preſent when the king of France, and the latter when the emperor and his ſon ratified the treaty and bound themſelves by oath to obſerve it†.

When an account of the conference at Vaucelles, and of the conditions of truce which had been propoſed there, were firſt carried to Rome, it gave the pope no manner of diſquiet. He truſted ſo much to the honour of the French monarch, that he would not allow himſelf to think that Henry could forget ſo ſoon, or violate ſo ſhamefully, all the ſtipulations in his league with him. He had ſuch an high opinion of the emperor's wiſdom, that he made no doubt of his refuſing his conſent to a truce, on ſuch unequal terms: and on both theſe accounts he confidently pronounced that this, like many preceding negotiations, would terminate in nothing. But later and more certain intelligence ſoon convinced him that no reaſoning in political affairs is more fallacious, than, becauſe an event is improbable, to conclude that it will not happen. The ſudden and unexpected concluſion of the truce filled Paul with aſtoniſhment and terror. The cardinal of Lorrain durſt not encounter that ſtorm of indignation, to which he knew that he ſhould be expoſed from the haughty pontiff, who had ſo good reaſon to be in-

* Mem. de Ribier, ii. 626. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. App. 81.

† One of admiral de Coligny's attendants, who wrote the court of France an account of what happened while they reſided at Bruſſels, takes notice, as an inſtance of Philip's unpoliteneſs, that he received the French ambaſſador in an apartment hung with tapeſtry, which repreſented the battle of Pavia, the manner in which Francis I. was taken priſoner, his voyage to Spain, with all the mortifying circumſtances of his captivity and impriſonment at Madrid. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 634.

cenſed; but departing abruptly from Rome, he left to the cardinal Tournon the difficult taſk of attempting to ſoothe Paul and his nephews. They were fully ſenſible of the perilous ſituation in which they now ſtood. By their engagements with France, which were no longer ſecret, they had highly irritated Philip. They dreaded the violence of his implacable temper. The duke of Alva, a miniſter fitted, as well by his abilities as by the ſeverity of his nature, for executing all Philip's rigorous ſchemes, had advanced from Milan to Naples, and began to aſſemble troops on the frontiers of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate: while they, if deſerted by France, muſt not only relinquiſh all the hopes of dominion and ſovereignty to which their ambition aſpired, but remain expoſed to the reſentment of the Spaniſh monarch, without one ally to protect them againſt an enemy with whom they were ſo little able to contend.

Under theſe circumſtances, Paul had recourſe to the arts of negotiation and intrigue, of which the papal court knows well how to avail itſelf in order to ward off any calamity threatened by an enemy ſuperior in power. He affected to approve highly of the truce, as an happy expedient for putting a ſtop to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. He expreſſed his warmeſt wiſhes that it might prove the forerunner of a definitive peace. He exhorted the rival princes to embrace this favourable opportunity of ſetting on foot a negotiation for that purpoſe, and offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed cardinal Rebiba his nuncio to the court of Bruſſels, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The public inſtructions given to both were the ſame; that they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevail with the two monarchs to accept of the pope's mediation, that, by means of it, peace might be re-eſtabliſhed, and meaſures might be taken for aſſembling a general council. But under this ſpecious appearance of zeal for attaining objects ſo deſirable in themſelves, and ſo becoming his ſacred character to

purſue, Paul concealed very different intentions. Caraffa, beſides his public inſtructions, received a private commiſſion to ſolicit the French king to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the holy ſee; and he was empowered to ſpare neither entreaties, nor promiſes, nor bribes, in order to gain that point. This, both the uncle and the nephew conſidered as the real end of the embaſſy; while the other ſerved to amuſe the vulgar, or to deceive the emperor and his ſon. The cardinal, accordingly, ſet out inſtantly for Paris [11th March,] and travelled with the greateſt expedition, while Rebiba was detained ſome weeks at Rome; and when it became neceſſary for him to begin his journey, he received ſecret orders to protract it as much as poſſible, that the iſſue of Caraffa's negotiation might be known before he might reach Bruſſels, and according to that, proper directions might be given to him with regard to the tone which he ſhould aſſume, in treating with the emperor and his ſon*.

Caraffa made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp: and having preſented a conſecrated ſword to Henry, as the protector on whoſe aid the pope relied in the preſent exigency, he beſought him not to diſregard the entreaties of a parent in diſtreſs, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This he repreſented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of juſtice. As the pope, from confidence in the aſſiſtance and ſupport which his late treaty with France entitled him to expect, had taken ſuch ſteps as had irritated the king of Spain, he conjured Henry not to ſuffer Paul and his family to be cruſhed under the weight of that reſentment which they had drawn on themſelves merely by their attachment to France. Together with this argument addreſſed to his generoſity, he employed another which he hoped would work on his ambition. He affirmed that now was the time, when, with the moſt certain proſpect of ſucceſs, he might attack Philip's

* Pallav. lib. xiii. p. 169. Burnet Hiſt. of Reform. ii. App. 309.

dominions in Italy; that the flower of the veteran Spaniſh bands had periſhed in the wars of Hungary, Germany, and the Low-Countries; that the emperor had left his ſon an exhauſted treaſury, and kingdoms drained of men; that he had no longer to contend with the abilities, the experience, and good fortune of Charles, but with a monarch ſcarcely ſeated on his throne, unpractiſed in command, odious to many of the Italian States, and dreaded by all. He promiſed that the pope, who had already levied ſoldiers, would bring a conſiderable army into the field, which, when joined by a ſufficient number of French troops, might, by one briſk and ſudden effort, drive the Spaniards out of Naples, and add to the crown of France a kingdom, the conqueſt of which had been the great object of all his predeceſſors during half a century, and the chief motive of all their expeditions into Italy.

July 31.] Every word Caraffa ſpoke made a deep impreſſion on Henry; conſcious on the one hand, that the pope had juſt cauſe to reproach him with having violated the laws not only of generoſity but of decency, when he renounced his league with him, and had agreed to the truce of Vaucelles, and eager on the other hand, not only to diſtinguiſh his reign by a conqueſt which three former monarchs had attempted without ſucceſs, but likewiſe to acquire an eſtabliſhment of ſuch dignity and value for one of his ſons. Reverence, however, for the oath, by which he had ſo lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles; the extreme old age of the pope, whoſe death might occaſion an entire revolution in the political ſyſtem of Italy; together with the repreſentations of Montmorency, who repeated all the arguments he had uſed againſt the firſt league with Paul, and pointed out the great and immediate advantages which France derived from the truce; kept Henry for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, and might poſſibly have outweighed all Caraffa's arguments. But the cardinal was not ſuch a novice in the arts of intrigue and negotiation, as not to have expedients ready for removing

or ſurmounting all theſe obſtacles. To obviate the king's ſcruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the pope, to abſolve him from the obligation of it. By way of ſecurity againſt any danger which he might apprehend from the pope's death, he engaged that his uncle would make ſuch a nomination of cardinals, as ſhould give Henry the abſolute command of the next election, and enable him to place in the papal chair a perſon entirely devoted to his intereſt.

In order to counterbalance the effect of the conſtable's opinion and influence, he employed not only the active talents of the duke of Guiſe, and the eloquence of his brother the cardinal of Lorrain, but the addreſs of the queen, aided by the more powerful arts of Diana of Poitiers, who, unfortunately for France, co-operated with Catherine in this point, though ſhe took pleaſure, on almoſt every other occaſion, to thwart and mortify her. They, by their united ſolicitations, eaſily ſwayed the king, who leaned, of his own accord, to that ſide towards which they wiſhed him to incline. All Montmorency's prudent remonſtrances were diſregarded; the nuncio abſolved Henry from his oath; and he ſigned a new league with the pope, which rekindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low-Countries.

As ſoon as Paul was informed by his nephew that there was a fair proſpect of his ſucceeding in this negotiation, he diſpatched a meſſenger after the nuncio Rebiba [July 31,] with orders to return to Rome, without proceeding to Bruſſels. As it was now no longer neceſſary to preſerve that tone of moderation, which ſuited the character of a mediator, and which he had affected to aſſume, or to put any farther reſtraint upon his reſentment againſt Philip, he boldly threw off the maſk, and took ſuch violent ſteps as rendered a rupture unavoidable. He ſeized and impriſoned the Spaniſh envoy at his court. He excommunicated the Colonnas; and having deprived Mark Antonio, the head of that family, of the dukedom of Paliano, he granted that dignity,

together with the territory annexed to it, to his nephew the count of Montorio. He ordered a legal information to be preſented in the conſiſtory of cardinals againſt Philip, ſeting forth that he, notwithſtanding the fidelity and allegiance due by him to the holy ſee, of which he held the kingdom of Naples, had not only afforded a retreat in his domions to the Colonnas, whom the pope had excommunicated and declared rebels, but had furniſhed them with arms, and was ready, in conjunction with them, to invade the eccleſiaſtical ſtate in an hoſtile manner; that ſuch conduct in a vaſſal was to be deemed treaſon againſt his liege lord, the puniſhment of which was the forfeiture of his fief. Upon this, the conſiſtorial advocate requeſted the pope to take cognizance of the cauſe, and to appoint a day for hearing of it, when he would make good every article of the charge, and expect from his juſtice that ſentence which the heinouſneſs of Philip's crimes merited. Paul, whoſe pride was highly flattered with the idea of trying and paſſing judgment on ſo great a king, aſſented to his requeſt [July 27,] and as if it had been no leſs eaſy to execute than to pronounce ſuch a ſentence, declared that he would conſult with the cardinals concerning the formalities requiſite in conducting the trial*.

But while Paul allowed his pride and reſentment to drive him on with ſuch headlong impetuoſity, Philip diſcovered an amazing moderation on his part. He had been taught by the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, who had the charge of his education, a profound veneration for the holy ſee. This ſentiment, which had been early infuſed, grew up with him as he advanced in years, and took full poſſeſſion of his mind, which was naturally thoughtful, ſerious, and prone to ſuperſtition. When he foreſaw a rupture with the pope approaching, he had ſuch violent ſcruples with reſpect to the lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt the vicegerent of Chriſt, and the common father of all Chriſtians, that he conſulted

* Pallav. lib. xiii. 171.

ſome Spaniſh divines upon that point. They, with the uſual dexterity of caſuiſts in accommodating their reſponſes to the circumſtances of thoſe who apply to them for direction, aſſured him that, after employing prayers and remonſtrances in order to bring the pope to reaſon, he had full right, both by the laws of nature and of Chriſtianity, not only to defend himſelf when attacked, but to begin hoſtilities, if that were judged the moſt proper expedient for preventing the effects of Paul's violence and injuſtice. Philip, nevertheleſs, continued to deliberate and delay, conſidering it as a moſt cruel misfortune, that his adminiſtration ſhould open with an attack on a perſon, whoſe ſacred function and character he ſo highly reſpected†.

At laſt the duke of Alva, who, in compliance with his maſter's ſcruples, had continued to negotiate long after he ſhould have begun to act, finding Paul inexorable, and that every overture of peace, and every appearance of heſitation on his part, increaſed the pontiff's natural arrogance, took the field [Sept. 5] and entered the eccleſiaſtical territories. His army did not exceed twelve thouſand men, but it was compoſed of veteran ſoldiers, and commanded chiefly by thoſe Roman barons, whom Paul's violence had driven into exile. The valour of the troops, together with the animoſity of their leaders, who fought in their own quarrel, and to recover their own eſtates, ſupplied the want of numbers. As none of the French forces were yet arrived, Alva ſoon became maſter of the Campagna Romana; ſome cities being ſurrendered through the cowardice of the garriſons, which conſiſted of raw ſoldiers, ill diſciplined, and worſe commanded; the gates of others being opened by the inhabitants, who were eager to receive back their ancient maſters. Alva, that he might not be taxed with impiety in ſeizing the patrimony of the church, took poſſeſſion of the towns which capitulated, in the name of the college of cardinals, to which, or to the pope that ſhould be choſen to

† Ferrer. Hiſt. de Eſpagne, ix. 373. Herrera, i. 308.

ſucceed Paul, he declared that he would immediately reſtore them.

The rapid progreſs of the Spaniards, whoſe light troops made excurſions even to the gates of Rome, filled that city with conſternation. Paul, though inflexible and undaunted himſelf, was obliged to give way ſo far to the fears and ſolicitations of the cardinals, as to ſend deputies to Alva in order to propoſe a ceſſation of arms. The pope yielded the more readily, as he was ſenſible of a double advantage which might be derived from obtaining that point. It would deliver the inhabitants of Rome from their preſent terror, and would afford time for the arrival of the ſuccours which he expected from France. Nor was Alva unwilling to cloſe with the overture, both as he knew how deſirous his maſter was to terminate a war, which he had undertaken with reluctance, and as his army was ſo much weakened by garriſoning the great number of towns which he had reduced, that it was hardly in a condition to keep the field without freſh recruits. A truce was accordingly concluded [Nov. 19,] firſt for ten, and afterwards for forty days, during which, various ſchemes of peace were propoſed, and perpetual negotiations were carried on, but with no ſincerity on the part of the pope. The return of his nephew the cardinal to Rome, the receipt of a conſiderable ſum remitted by the king of France, the arrival of one body of French troops, together with the expectation of others which had begun their march, rendered him more arrogant than ever, and baniſhed all thoughts from his mind, but thoſe of war and revenge†.

† Pallav. lib. xiii. 177. Thuan. lib. xvii. 588. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 664.

BOOK XII.

WHILE theſe operations or intrigues kept the pope and Philip buſy and attentive, the emperor diſentangled himſelf finally from all the affairs of this world, and ſet out for the place of his retreat. He had hitherto retained the Imperial dignity, not from any unwillingneſs to relinquiſh it, for, after having reſigned the real and extenſive authority that he enjoyed in his hereditary dominions, to part with the limited and often ideal juriſdiction which belongs to an elective crown, was no great ſacrifice. His ſole motive for delay was to gain a few months, for making one trial more, in order to accompliſh his favourite ſcheme in behalf of his ſon. At the very time Charles ſeemed to be moſt ſenſible of the vanity of worldly grandeur, and when he appeared to be quitting it not only with indifference, but with contempt, the vaſt ſchemes of ambition, which had ſo long occupied and engroſſed his mind, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of it. He could not think of leaving his ſon in a rank inferior to that which he himſelf had held among the princes of Europe. As he had, ſome years before, made a fruitleſs attempt to ſecure the Imperial crown to Philip, that by uniting it to the kingdoms of Spain, and the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy, he might put it in his power to proſecute, with a better proſpect of ſucceſs, thoſe great plans, which his own infirmities had obliged him to abandon, he was ſtill unwilling to relinquiſh this flattering project as chimerical or unattainable.

Notwithſtanding the repulſe which he had formerly met with from his brother Ferdinand, he renewed his ſolicitations with freſh importunity; and during the ſummer, had tried every art, and employed every argument, which he thought could induce him to quit the Imperial throne to Philip, and to accept of the inveſtiture of ſome province, either in Italy,

or in the Low-Countries, as an equivalent*. But Ferdinand, who was ſo firm and inflexible with regard to this point, that he had paid no regard to the ſolicitations of the emperor, even when they were enforced with all the weight of authority which accompanies ſupreme power, received the overture, that now came from him in the ſituation to which he had deſcended, with greater indifference, and would hardly deign to liſten to it. Charles, aſhamed of his own credulity in having imagined that he might accompliſh that now, which he attempted formerly without ſucceſs, deſiſted finally from his ſcheme. He then reſigned the government of the empire, and having transferred all his claims of obedience and allegiance from the Germanic body, to his brother the king of the Romans, he executed a deed to that effect [Aug. 27,] with all the formalities requiſite in ſuch an important tranſaction. The inſtrument of reſignation he committed to William prince of Orange, and empowered him to lay it before the college of electors†.

Nothing now remained to detain Charles from that retreat for which he languiſhed. The preparations for his voyage having been made for ſome time, he ſet out for Zuitburg in Zealand, where the fleet which was to convoy him had orders to aſſemble. In his way thither he paſſed through Ghent, and after ſtopping there a few days, to indulge that tender and pleaſing melancholy, which ariſes in the mind of every man in the decline of life, on viſiting the place of his nativity, and viewing the ſcenes and objects familiar to him in his early youth, he purſued his journey, accompanied by his ſon Philip, his daughter the archdutcheſs, his ſiſters the dowager queens of France and Hungary, Maximilian his ſon-in-law, and a numerous retinue of the Flemiſh nobility. Before he went on board, he diſmiſſed them, with marks of his attention or regard, and taking leave of Philip with all the tenderneſs of a father who embraced his ſon for the laſt time,

* Ambaſſades des Noailles, tom. v. 356.
† Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. pars i. 576.

he ſet ſail on the ſeventeenth of September, under convoy of a large fleet of Spaniſh, Flemiſh, and Engliſh ſhips. He declined a preſſing invitation, from the queen of England, to land in ſome part of her dominions, in order to refreſh himſelf, and that ſhe might have the comfort of ſeeing him once more. "It cannot ſurely," ſaid he, "be agreeable to a queen to receive a viſit from a father-in-law, who is now nothing more than a private gentleman."

His voyage was proſperous, and he arrived at Laredo in Biſcay on the eleventh day after he left Zealand. As ſoon as he landed, he fell proſtrate on the ground; and conſidering himſelf now as dead to the world, he kiſſed the earth, and ſaid, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee, thou common mother of mankind." From Laredo he purſued his journey to Burgos, carried ſometimes in a chair and ſometimes in a horſe litter, ſuffering exquiſite pain at every ſtep, and advancing with the greateſt difficulty. Some of the Spaniſh nobility repaired to Burgos, in order to pay court to him, but they were ſo few in number, and their attendance was ſo negligent, that Charles obſerved it, and felt, for the firſt time, that he was no longer a monarch. Accuſtomed from his early youth to the dutiful and officious reſpect with which thoſe who poſſeſs ſovereign power are attended, he had received it with the credulity common to princes, and was ſenſibly mortified, when he now diſcovered, that he had been indebted to his rank and power for much of that obſequious regard which he had fondly thought was paid to his perſonal qualities. But though he might have ſoon learned to view with unconcern the levity of his ſubjects, or to have deſpiſed their neglect, he was more deeply afflicted with the ingratitude of his ſon, who, forgetting already how much he owed to his father's bounty, obliged him to remain ſome weeks at Burgos, before he paid him the firſt moiety of that ſmall penſion, which was all that he had reſerved of ſo many kingdoms. As without

this ſum, Charles could not diſmiſs his domeſtics with ſuch rewards as their ſervices merited, or his generoſity had deſtined for them, he could not help expreſſing both ſurpriſe and diſſatisfaction*. At laſt the money was paid, and Charles having diſmiſſed a great number of his domeſtics, whoſe attendance he thought would be ſuperfluous or cumberſome in his retirement, he proceeded to Valladolid. There he took a laſt and tender leave of his two ſiſters, whom he would not permit to accompany him to his ſolitude, though they requeſted him with tears, not only that they might have the conſolation of contributing by their attendance and care to mitigate or to ſoothe his ſufferings, but that they might reap inſtruction and benefit by joining with him in thoſe pious exerciſes, to which he had conſecrated the remainder of his days.

1557.] From Valladolid he continued his journey to Placentia in Eſtremadura. He had paſſed through this place a great many years before, and having been ſtruck at that time with the delightful ſituation of the monaſtery of St. Juſtus, belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many miles diſtant from the town, he had then obſerved to ſome of his attendants, that this was a ſpot to which Dioclefian might have retired with pleaſure. The impreſſion had remained ſo ſtrong on his mind, that he pitched upon it as the place of his own retreat. It was ſeated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a ſmall brook, and ſurrounded by riſing grounds, covered with lofty trees; from the nature of the ſoil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was eſteemed the moſt healthful and delicious ſituation in Spain. Some months before his reſignation he had ſent an architect thither to add a new apartment to the monaſtery, for his accommodation; but he gave ſtrict orders that the ſtyle of the building ſhould be ſuch as ſuited his preſent ſtation, rather than his former dignity. It conſiſted only of ſix rooms, four of them in the form of friars cells, with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet ſquare, were hung with brown cloth, and furniſhed in the moſt

* Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. 9.

ſimple manner. They were all on a level with the ground; with a door on one ſide into a garden, of which Charles himſelf had given the plan, and had filled it with various plants, which he intended to cultivate with his own hands. On the other ſide they communicated with the chapel of the monaſtery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat, hardly ſufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter [Feb. 24,] with twelve domeſtics only. He buried there, in ſolitude and ſilence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all thoſe vaſt projects, which, during almoſt half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom in it, by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being ſubdued by his power*.

The contraſt between Charles's conduct and that of the pope at this juncture was ſo obvious, that it ſtruck even the moſt careleſs obſervers; nor was the compariſon which they made to the advantage of Paul. The former, a conqueror, born to reign, long accuſtomed to the ſplendour which accompanies ſupreme power, and to thoſe buſy and intereſting ſcenes in which an active ambition had engaged him, quitted the world at a period of life not far advanced, that he might cloſe the evening of his days in tranquillity, and ſecure ſome interval for ſober thought and ſerious recollection. The latter a prieſt, who had paſſed the early part of his life in the ſhade of the ſchools, and in the ſtudy of the ſpeculative ſciences, who was ſeemingly ſo detached from the world, that he had ſhut himſelf up for many years in the ſolitude of a cloiſter, and who was not raiſed to the papal throne until he had reached the extremity of old age, diſcovered at once all the impetuoſity of youthful ambition, and formed extenſive ſchemes, in order to accompliſh which, he ſcrupled not to ſcatter the ſeeds of diſcord, and to kindle the flames of war, in every corner of Europe. But Paul, regardleſs of the opinion or cenſures of mankind, held on

* Sandov. ii. 607. & Zuniga, 100. Thuan. lib. xvii. 609.

his own courſe with his wonted arrogance and violence. Theſe, although they ſeemed already to have exceeded all bounds, roſe to ſtill a greater height, upon the arrival of the duke of Guiſe in Italy.

That which the two princes of Lorrain foreſaw and deſired had happened. The duke of Guiſe was entruſted with the command of the army appointed to march to the pope's aſſiſtance. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand men, of the beſt troops in the ſervice of France. So high was the duke's reputation, and ſuch the general expectation of beholding ſome extraordinary exertion of his courage and abilities in a war into which he had precipitated his country, chiefly with the deſign of obtaining a field where he might diſplay his own talents, that many of the French nobility who had no command in the troops employed, accompanied him as volunteers. This army paſſed the Alps in an inclement ſeaſon, and advanced towards Rome without any oppoſition from the Spaniards, who, as they were not ſtrong enough to act in different parts, had collected all their forces in one body on the frontiers of Naples, for the defence of that kingdom.

Emboldened by the approach of the French, the pope let looſe all the fury of his reſentment againſt Philip, which notwithſtanding the natural violence of his temper, prudential conſiderations had hitherto obliged him to keep under ſome reſtraint. He named commiſſioners, [Feb. 12,] whom he empowered to paſs judgment in the ſuit, which the conſiſtorial advocate had commenced againſt Philip, in order to prove that he had forfeited the crown of Naples, by taking arms againſt the holy ſee, of which he was a vaſſal. He recalled all the nuncios [April 9] reſiding in the courts of Charles V. of Philip or any of their allies. This was levelled chiefly againſt cardinal Pole, the papal legate in the court of England, whoſe great merit, in having contributed ſo ſucceſsfully to reconcile that kingdom to the church of Rome, together with the expectation of farther ſervices,

which he might perform, was not ſufficient to ſcreen him from the reſentment that he had incurred by his zealous endeavours to eſtabliſh peace between the houſe of Auſtria and France. He commanded an addition to be made to the anathemas annually denounced againſt the enemies of the church on Maunday-Thurſday, whereby he inflicted the cenſure of excommunication on the authors of the late invaſion of the eccleſiaſtical territories, whatever their rank or dignity might be; and in conſequence of this, the uſual prayers for the emperor were omitted next day in the pope's chapel†.

But while the pope indulged himſelf in thoſe wild and childiſh ſallies of rage, either he neglected, or found that it exceeded his power, to take ſuch meaſures as would have rendered his reſentment really formidable, and fatal to his enemies. For when the duke of Guiſe entered Rome, where he was received with a triumphal pomp, which would have been more ſuitable if he had been returning after having terminated the war with glory, than when he was going to begin it with a doubtful chance of ſucceſs, he found none of the preparations for war in ſuch forwardneſs as cardinal Caraffa had promiſed, or he had expected. The papal troops were far inferior in number to the quota ſtipulated; no magazines ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence were formed; nor was money for paying them provided. The Venetians, agreeably to that cautious maxim which the misfortunes of their ſtate had firſt led them to adopt, and which was now become a fundamental principle in their policy, declared their reſolution to preſerve an exact neutrality, without taking any part in the quarrels of princes, ſo far ſuperior to themſelves in power. The other Italian ſtates were either openly united in league with Philip, or ſecretly wiſhed ſucceſs to his arms againſt a pontiff, whoſe inconſiderate ambition had rendered Italy once more the ſeat of war.

The duke of Guiſe perceived that the whole weight of

† Pal. lib. xiii. 180. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 678.

the war would devolve on the French troops under his command; and became ſenſible, though too late, how imprudent it is to rely, in the execution of great enterpriſes, on the aid of feeble allies. Puſhed on, however, by the pope's impatience for action, as well as by his own deſire of performing ſome part of what he had ſo confidently undertaken, he marched towards Naples [April 13], and began his operations. But the ſucceſs of theſe fell far ſhort of his former reputation, of what the world expected, and of what he himſelf had promiſed. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Civitella, a town of ſome importance on the Neapolitan frontier. But the obſtinacy with which the Spaniſh governor defended it, baffled all the impetuous efforts of the French valour, and obliged the duke of Guiſe, after a ſiege of three weeks, to retire from the town with diſgrace. He endeavoured to wipe off that ſtain, by advancing boldly towards the duke of Alva's camp, and offering him battle. But that prudent commander, ſenſible of all the advantages of ſtanding on the defenſive before an invading enemy, declined an engagement, and kept within his intrenchments; and adhering to his plan with the ſteadineſs of a Caſtilian, eluded, with great addreſs, all the duke of Guiſe's ſtratagems to draw him into action†. By this time ſickneſs began to waſte the French army; violent diſſenſions had ariſen between the duke of Guiſe and the commander of the pope's forces; the Spaniards renewed their incurſions into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; the pope, when he found, inſtead of the conqueſts and triumphs which he had fondly expected, that he could not ſecure his own territories from depredation, murmured, complained, and began to talk of peace. The duke of Guiſe, mortified to the laſt degree with having acted ſuch an inglorious part, not only ſolicited his court either to reinforce his army, or to recal him, but urged Paul to fulfil his engagements; and called on cardinal Caraffa, ſometimes with reproaches, ſometimes with threats, to make good

† Herrera Vida de Felipe, 181.

thoſe magnificent promiſes, from a raſh confidence in which he had adviſed his maſter to renounce the truce of Vaucelles, and to join in league with the pope.†

But while the French affairs in Italy were in this wretched ſituation, an unexpected event happened in the Low-Countries, which called the duke of Guiſe from a ſtation wherein he could acquire no honour, to the moſt dignified and important charge which could be committed to a ſubject. As ſoon as the French had diſcovered their purpoſe of violating the truce of Vaucelles, not only by ſending an army into Italy, but by attempting to ſurpriſe ſome of the frontier towns in Flanders, Philip, though willing to have avoided a rupture, determined to proſecute the war with ſuch ſpirit, as ſhould make his enemies ſenſible that his father had not erred, when he judged him to be ſo capable of government, that he had given up the reins into his hands. As he knew that Henry had been at great expence in fitting out the army under the duke of Guiſe, and that his treaſury was hardly able to anſwer the exorbitant and endleſs demands of a diſtant war, he foreſaw that all his operations in the Low-Countries muſt, of conſequence, prove feeble, and be conſidered only as ſecondary to thoſe in Italy. For that reaſon, he prudently reſolved to make his principal effort in that place where he expected the French to be weakeſt, and to bend his chief force againſt that quarter where they would feel a blow moſt ſenſibly. With this view, he aſſembled in the Low-Countries an army of about fifty thouſand men, the Flemings ſerving him on this occaſion with that active zeal which ſubjects are wont to exert in obeying the firſt commands of a new ſovereign. But Philip, cautious and provident, even at this early period of life, did not reſt all his hopes of ſucceſs on that formidable force alone.

He had been labouring for ſome time to engage the Engliſh to eſpouſe his quarrel; and though it was manifeſtly

† Thuan. lib. xxviii. 614. Pallav. lib. xiii. 181. Burn. ii App. 317.

the intereſt of that kingdom to maintain a ſtrict neutrality, and the people themſelves were ſenſible of the advantages which they derived from it; though he knew how odious his name was to the Engliſh, and how averſe they would be to co-operate with him in any meaſure, he nevertheleſs did not deſpair of accompliſhing his point. He relied on the affection with which the queen doated on him, which was ſo violent, that even his coldneſs and neglect had not extinguiſhed it; he knew her implicit reverence for his opinion, and her fond deſire of gratifying him in every particular. That he might work on theſe with greater facility and more certain ſucceſs, he ſet out for England. The queen, who, during her huſband's abſence, had languiſhed in perpetual dejection, reſumed freſh ſpirits on his arrival; and, without paying the leaſt attention either to the intereſt or to the inclinations of her people, entered warmly into all his ſchemes. In vain did her privy-council remonſtrate againſt the imprudence as well as danger of involving the nation in an unneceſſary war; in vain did they put her in mind of the ſolemn treaties of peace ſubſiſting between England and France, which the conduct of that nation had afforded her no pretext to violate. Mary, ſoothed by Philip's careſſes, or intimidated by the threats which his aſcendant over her emboldened him at ſome times to throw out, was deaf to every thing that could be urged in oppoſition to his ſentiments, and inſiſted with the greateſt vehemence on an immediate declaration of war againſt France. The council, though all Philip's addreſs and Mary's authority were employed to gain or overawe them, after ſtruggling long, yielded at laſt, not from conviction, but merely from deference to the will of their ſovereign. War was declared againſt France [June 20,] the only one perhaps againſt that kingdom into which the Engliſh ever entered with reluctance. As Mary knew the averſion of the nation to this meaſure, ſhe durſt not call a parliament in order to raiſe money for carrying on the war. She ſupplied this want, how-

ever, by a ſtretch of royal prerogative, not unuſual in that age; and levied large ſums on her ſubjects by her own authority. This enabled her to aſſemble a ſufficient body of troops, and to ſend eight thouſand men under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke to join Philip's army†.

Philip, who was not ambitious of military glory, gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and fixed his own reſidence at Cambray, that he might be at hand to receive the earlieſt intelligence of his motions, and to aid him with his councils. The duke opened the campaign with a maſterly ſtroke of addreſs, which juſtified Philip's choice, and diſcovered ſuch a ſuperiority of genius over the French generals, as almoſt inſured ſucceſs in his ſubſequent operations. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops at a place conſiderably diſtant from the country which he deſtined to be the ſcene of action; and having kept the enemy in ſuſpenſe for a good time with regard to his intentions, he at laſt deceived them ſo effectually by the variety of his marches and counter-marches, as led them to conclude that he meant to bend all his force againſt the province of Champagne, and would attempt to penetrate into the kingdom on that ſide. In conſequence of this opinion, they drew all their ſtrength towards that quarter, and reinforcing the garriſons there, left the towns on other parts of the frontier deſtitute of troops ſufficient to defend them.

The duke of Savoy, as ſoon as he perceived that this feint had its full effect, turned ſuddenly to the right, advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and ſending his cavalry, in which he was extremely ſtrong, before him, inveſted St. Quintin. This was a town deemed in that age of conſiderable ſtrength, and of great importance, as there were few fortified cities between it and Paris. The fortifications, however, had been much neglected; the garriſon, weakened by draughts ſent towards Champagne, did not a-

† Carte, iii. 337.

mount to a fifth part of the number requiſite for its defence; and the governor, though a brave officer, was neither of rank, nor authority, equal to the command in a place of ſo much conſequence, beſieged by ſuch a formidable army. A few days muſt have put the duke of Savoy in poſſeſſion of the town, if the admiral de Coligny, who thought it concerned his honour to attempt ſaving a place of ſuch importance to his country, and which lay within his juriſdiction as governor of Picardy, had not taken the gallant reſolution of throwing himſelf into it, with ſuch a body of men as he could collect on a ſudden. This reſolution he executed with great intrepidity, and, if the nature of the enterpriſe be conſidered, with no contemptible ſucceſs; for though one half of his ſmall body of troops were cut off, he, with the other, broke through the enemy, and entered the town. The unexpected arrival of an officer of ſuch high rank and reputation, and who had expoſed himſelf to ſuch danger in order to join them, inſpired the deſponding garriſon with courage. Every thing that the admiral's great ſkill and experience in the art of war could ſuggeſt, for annoying the enemy, or defending the town, was attempted; and the citizens, as well as the garriſon, ſeconding his zeal with equal ardour, ſeemed to be determined that they would hold out to the laſt, and ſacrifice themſelves in order to ſave their country†.

The duke of Savoy, whom the Engliſh, under the earl of Pembroke, joined about this time, puſhed on the ſiege with the greateſt vigour. An army ſo numerous, and ſo well ſupplied with every thing requiſite, carried on its approaches with great advantage againſt a garriſon which was ſtill ſo feeble that it durſt ſeldom venture to diſturb or retard the enemy's operations by ſallies. The admiral, ſenſible of the approaching danger, and unable to avert it, acquainted his uncle the conſtable Montmorency, who had the command of the French army, with his ſituation, and pointed out to

† Thuan. lib. xix. 647.

him a method by which he might throw relief into the town. The conſtable, ſolicitous to ſave a town, the loſs of which would open a paſſage for the enemy into the heart of France; and eager to extricate his nephew out of that perilous ſituation, in which zeal for the public had engaged him; reſolved, though aware of the danger, to attempt what he deſired. With this view, he marched from La Fere towards St. Quintin at the head of his army, which was not by one-half ſo numerous as that of the enemy, and having given the command of a body of choſen men to Coligny's brother Dandelot, who was colonel-general of the French infantry, he ordered him to force his way into the town by that avenue which the admiral had repreſented as moſt practicable, while he himſelf, with the main army, would give the alarm to the enemy's camp on the oppoſite ſide, and endeavour to draw all their attention towards that quarter. Dandelot executed his orders with greater intrepidity than conduct. [Aug. 10] He ruſhed on with ſuch headlong impetuoſity, that, though it broke the firſt body of the enemy which ſtood in their way, it threw his own ſoldiers into the utmoſt confuſion; and as they were attacked in that ſituation by freſh troops which cloſed in upon them on every ſide, the greater part of them were cut in pieces, Dandelot, with about five hundred of the moſt adventurous and moſt fortunate, making good his entrance into the town.

Meanwhile the conſtable, in executing his part of the plan, advanced ſo near the camp of the beſiegers, as rendered it impoſſible to retreat with ſafety in the face of an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number. The duke of Savoy inſtantly perceived Montmorency's error, and prepared, with the preſence of mind and abilities of a great general, to avail himſelf of it. He drew up his army in order of battle, with the greateſt expedition, and watching the moment when the French began to file off towards La Fere, he detached all his cavalry, under the command of the count of Egmont,

to fall on their rear, while he himſelf, at the head of his infantry, advanced to ſupport him. The French at firſt retired in perfect order, and with a good countenance; but when they ſaw Egmont draw near with his formidable body of cavalry, the ſhock of which they were conſcious that they could not withſtand, the proſpect of imminent danger, added to diſtruſt of their general, whoſe imprudence every ſoldier now perceived, ſtruck them with general conſternation. They began inſenſibly to quicken their pace, and thoſe in the rear preſſed ſo violently on ſuch as were before them, that in a ſhort time their march reſembled a flight rather than a retreat. Egmont, obſerving their confuſion, charged them with the greateſt fury, and in a moment all their men at arms, the pride and ſtrength of the French troops in that age, gave way and fled with precipitation. The infantry, however, whom the conſtable, by his preſence and authority, kept to their colours, ſtill continued to retreat in good order, until the enemy brought ſome pieces of cannon to bear upon their centre, which threw them into ſuch confuſion, that the Flemiſh cavalry, renewing their attack, broke in, and the rout became univerſal. About four thouſand of the French fell in the field, and among theſe the duke of Anguien, a prince of the blood, together with ſix hundred gentlemen. The conſtable, as ſoon as he perceived the fortune of the day to be irretrievable, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy, with a reſolution not to ſurvive the calamity which his ill-conduct had brought upon his country; but having received a dangerous wound, and being waſted with the loſs of blood, he was ſurrounded by ſome Flemiſh officers, to whom he was known, who protected him from the violence of the ſoldiers, and obliged him to ſurrender. Beſides the conſtable, the dukes of Montpenſier and Longueville, the marechal St. Andre, many officers of diſtinction, three hundred gentlemen, and near four thouſand private ſoldiers, were taken priſoners. All the colours belonging to the infantry, all the ammunition, and all the cannon,

two pieces excepted, fell into the enemy's hands. The victorious army did not loſe above fourſcore men*.

This battle, no leſs fatal to France than the ancient victories of Crecy and Agincourt, gained by the Engliſh on the ſame frontier, bore a near reſemblance to thoſe diſaſtrous events, in the ſuddenneſs of the rout; in the ill-conduct of the commander in chief; in the number of perſons of note ſlain or taken; and in the ſmall loſs ſuſtained by the enemy. It filled France with equal conſternation. Many inhabitants of Paris, with the ſame precipitancy and trepidation as if the enemy had been already at their gates, quitted the city, and retired into the interior provinces. The king, by his preſence and exhortations, endeavoured to conſole and to animate ſuch as remained, and applying himſelf with the greateſt diligence to repair the ruinous fortifications of the city, prepared to defend it againſt the attack which he inſtantly expected. But happily for France, Philip's caution, together with the intrepid firmneſs of the admiral de Coligny, not only ſaved the capital from the danger to which it was expoſed, but gained the nation a ſhort interval, during which the people recovered from the terror and dejection occaſioned by a blow no leſs ſevere than unexpected, and Henry had leiſure to take meaſures for the public ſecurity, with the ſpirit which became the ſovereign of a powerful and martial people.

Philip, immediately after the battle, viſited the camp at St. Quintin, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph; and ſuch were his tranſports of joy on account of an event which threw ſo much luſtre on the beginning of his reign, that they ſoftened his ſevere and haughty temper into an unuſual flow of courteſy. When the duke of Savoy approached, and was kneeling to kiſs his hands, he caught him in his arms, and embracing him with warmth, "It becomes me," ſays he, "rather to kiſs your

* Thuan. 650. Hærei Annal. Brabant. ii. 692. Herrera, 292.

hands, which have gained me ſuch a glorious and almoſt bloodleſs victory."

As ſoon as the rejoicings and congratulations on Philip's arrival were over, a council of war was held, in order to determine how they might improve their victory to the beſt advantage. The duke of Savoy, ſeconded by ſeveral of the ableſt officers formed under Charles V. inſiſted that they ſhould immediately relinquiſh the ſiege of St. Quintin, the reduction of which was now an object below their attention, and advance directly towards Paris; that as there were neither troops to oppoſe, nor any town of ſtrength to retard their march, they might reach that capital while under the full impreſſion of the aſtoniſhment and terror occaſioned by the rout of the army, and take poſſeſſion of it without reſiſtance. But Philip, leſs adventurous or more prudent than his generals, preferred a moderate but certain advantage, to an enterpriſe of greater ſplendour, but of more doubtful ſucceſs. He repreſented to the council the infinite reſources of a kingdom ſo powerful as France; the great number as well as martial ſpirit of its nobles; their attachment to their ſovereign; the manifold advantages with which they could carry on war in their own territories; and the unavoidable deſtruction which muſt be the conſequence of their penetrating too raſhly into the enemy's country, before they had ſecured ſuch a communication with their own as might render a retreat ſafe, if, upon any diſaſtrous event, that meaſure ſhould become neceſſary. On all theſe accounts, he adviſed the continuance of the ſiege, and his generals acquieſced the more readily in his opinion, as they made no doubt of being maſters of the town in a few days, a loſs of time of ſo little conſequence in the execution of their plan, that they might eaſily repair it by their ſubſequent activity*.

The weakneſs of the fortifications, and the ſmall number of the garriſon, which could no longer hope either for rein-

* Belcar. Commentar. de Reb. Gallic. 901.

forcement or relief, ſeemed to authoriſe this calculation of Philip's generals. But, in making it, they did not attend ſufficiently to the character of admiral de Coligny, who commanded in the town. A courage undiſmayed, and tranquil amidſt the greateſt dangers, an invention fruitful in reſources, a genius which rouſed and ſeemed to acquire new force upon every diſaſter, a talent of governing the minds of men, together with a capacity of maintaining his aſcendant over them even under circumſtances the moſt adverſe and diſtreſsful, were qualities which Coligny poſſeſſed in a degree ſuperior to any general of that age. Theſe qualities were peculiarly adapted to the ſtation in which he was now placed; and as he knew the infinite importance to his country of every hour which he could gain at this juncture, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in contriving how to protract the ſiege, and to detain the enemy from attempting any enterpriſe more dangerous to France. Such were the perſeverance and ſkill with which he conducted the defence, and ſuch the fortitude as well as patience with which he animated the garriſon, that though the Spaniards, the Flemings, and the Engliſh, carried on the attack with all the ardour which national emulation inſpires, he held out the town ſeventeen days. He was taken priſoner at laſt [Aug. 27,] on the breach, overpowered by the ſuperior number of the enemy.

Henry availed himſelf, with the utmoſt activity, of the interval which the admiral's well-timed obſtinacy had afforded him. He appointed officers to collect the ſcattered remains of the conſtable's army; he iſſued orders for levying ſoldiers in every part of the kingdom; he commanded the ban and arriere ban of the frontier provinces inſtantly to take the field, and to join the duke of Nevers at Laon in Picardy; he recalled the greater part of the veteran troops which ſerved under the marechal Briſſac in Piedmont; he ſent courier after courier to the duke of Guiſe, requiring him, together with all his army, to return inſtantly for the defence of

their country; he diſpatched one envoy to the grand ſignor, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of his fleet, and the loan of a ſum of money; he ſent another into Scotland, to incite the Scots to invade the north of England, that, by drawing Mary's attention to that quarter, he might prevent her from reinforcing her troops which ſerved under Philip. Theſe efforts of the king were warmly ſeconded by the zeal of his ſubjects. The city of Paris granted him a free gift of three hundred thouſand livres. The other great towns imitated the liberality of the capital, and contributed in proportion. Several noblemen of diſtinction engaged, at their own expence, to garriſon and defend the towns which lay moſt expoſed to the enemy. Nor was the general concern for the public confined to corporate bodies alone, or to thoſe in the higher ſphere of life, but diffuſing itſelf among perſons of every rank, each individual ſeemed diſpoſed to act with as much vigour as if the honour of the king, and the ſafety of the ſtate, had depended ſolely on his ſingle efforts†.

Philip, who was no ſtranger either to the prudent meaſures taken by the French monarch for the ſecurity of his dominions, or to the ſpirit with which his ſubjects prepared to defend themſelves, perceived, when it was too late, that he had loſt an opportunity which could never be recalled, and that it was now vain to think of penetrating into the heart of France. He abandoned, therefore, without much reluctance, a ſcheme which was too bold and hazardous to be perfectly agreeable to his cautious temper; and employed his army, during the remainder of the campaign, in the ſieges of Ham and Catelet. Of theſe, he ſoon became maſter; and the reduction of two ſuch petty towns, together with the acquiſition of St. Quintin, were all the advantages which he derived from one of the moſt deciſive victories gained in that century. Philip himſelf, however, continued in high exultation on account of his ſucceſs; and as all his paſſions were tinged with ſuperſtition, he, in memory of the battle

† Mem. de Ribier, ii. 701, 703.

of St. Quintin, which had been fought on the day conſecrated to St. Laurence, vowed to build a church, a monaſtery, and a palace, in honour of that ſaint and martyr. Before the expiration of the year, he laid the foundation of an edifice, in which all theſe were united, at the Eſcurial in the neighbourhood of Madrid; and the ſame principle which dictated the vow, directed the building. For the plan of the work was ſo formed as to reſemble a gridiron, which, according to the legendary tale, had been the inſtrument of St. Laurence's martyrdom. Notwithſtanding the great and expenſive ſchemes in which his reſtleſs ambition involved him, Philip continued the building with ſuch perſeverance for twenty-two years, and reſerved ſuch large ſums for this monument of his devotion and vanity, that the monarchs of Spain are indebted to him for a royal reſidence, which, tho' not the moſt elegant, is certainly the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent of any in Europe†.

The firſt account of that fatal blow which the French had received at St. Quintin was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had ſent to recal the duke of Guiſe. As Paul, even with the aſſiſtance of his French auxiliaries, had hardly been able to check the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms, he foreſaw that, as ſoon as he was deprived of their protection, his territories muſt be over-run in a moment. He remonſtrated, therefore, with the greateſt violence againſt the departure of the French army, reproaching the duke of Guiſe for his ill-conduct, which had brought him into ſuch an unhappy ſituation; and complaining of the king for deſerting him ſo ungenerouſly under ſuch circumſtances. The duke of Guiſe's orders, however, were peremptory. Paul, inflexible as he was, found it neceſſary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Coſmo di Medici, in order to obtain peace. Philip, who had been forced unwillingly to a rupture with the pope, and who, even while ſucceſs

† Colmenar Annales d'Eſpagne, tom. ii. p. 136.

crowned his arms, doubted ſo much the juſtice of his own cauſe, that he had made frequent overtures of pacification, liſtened eagerly to the firſt propoſals of this nature from Paul, and diſcovered ſuch moderation in his demands, as could hardly have been expected from a prince elated with victory.

The duke of Alva on the part of Philip, and the cardinal Caraffa in the name of his uncle, met at Cavi, and both being equally diſpoſed to peace, they, after a ſhort conference, terminated the war by a treaty on the following terms: That Paul ſhould renounce his league with France, and maintain for the future ſuch a neutrality as became the common father of Chriſtendom; That Philip ſhould inſtantly reſtore all the towns of the eccleſiaſtical territory of which he had taken poſſeſſion; That the claims of the Caraffas to the dutchy of Paliano, and other demeſnes of the Colonnas, ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the republic of Venice; That the duke of Alva ſhould repair in perſon to Rome, and after aſking pardon of Paul in his own name, and in that of his maſter, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, ſhould receive the pope's abſolution from that crime. Thus Paul, through Philip's ſcrupulous timidity, finiſhed an unproſperous war without any detriment to the papal ſee. The conqueror appeared humble, and acknowledged his error; while he who had been vanquiſhed retained his uſual haughtineſs, and was treated with every mark of ſuperiority†. The duke of Alva, in terms of the treaty, repaired to Rome, and, in the poſture of a ſupplicant, kiſſed the feet, and implored the forgiveneſs of that very perſon whom his arms had reduced to the laſt extremity. Such was the ſuperſtitious veneration of the Spaniards for the papal character, that Alva, though perhaps the proudeſt man of the age, and accuſtomed from his infancy to a familiar intercouſe with princes, acknowledged that when he approached the pope, he was ſo much overawed, that his voice failed, and his preſence of mind forſook him‡.

† Pallav. lib. xiii. 183. F. Paul, 380. Herrera, vol. i. 310.
‡ Pallav. lib. xiii. 185. Summonte Iſtoria di Napoli, iv. 286.

But though this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was brought to an end without occaſioning any alteration in thoſe ſtates which were its immediate object, it had produced during its progreſs effects of conſiderable conſequence in other parts of Italy. As Philip was extremely ſolicitous to terminate his quarrel with Paul as ſpeedily as poſſible, he was willing to make any ſacrifice in order to gain thoſe princes, who, by joining their troops to the papal and French army, might have prolonged the war. With this view, he entered into a negotiation with Octavio Farneſe, duke of Parma, and in order to ſeduce him from his alliance with France, he reſtored to him the city of Placentia, with the territory depending on it, which Charles V. had ſeized in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, had kept from that time in his poſſeſſion, and had tranſmitted, together with his other dominions, to Philip.

This ſtep made ſuch a diſcovery of Philip's character and views to Coſmo di Medici, the moſt ſagacious as well as provident of all the Italian princes, that he conceived hopes of accompliſhing his favourite ſcheme of adding Sienna and its territories to his dominions in Tuſcany. As his ſucceſs in this attempt depended entirely on the delicacy of addreſs with which it ſhould be conducted, he employed all the refinements of policy in the negotiation which he ſet on foot for this purpoſe. He began with ſoliciting Philip, whoſe treaſury he knew to be entirely drained by the expence of the war, to repay the great ſums which he had advanced to the emperor during the ſiege of Sienna. When Philip endeavoured to elude a demand which he was unable to ſatisfy, Coſmo affected to be extremely diſquieted, and making no ſecret of his diſguſt, inſtructed his ambaſſador at Rome to open a negotiation with the pope which ſeemed to be the effect of it. The ambaſſador executed his commiſſion with ſuch dexterity, that Paul, imagining Coſmo to be entirely alienated from the Spaniſh intereſt, propoſed to him an al-

liance with France which ſhould be cemented by the marriage of his eldeſt ſon to one of Henry's daughters. Coſmo received the overture with ſuch apparent ſatisfaction, and with ſo many profeſſions of gratitude for the high honour of which he had the proſpect, that not only the pope's miniſters, but the French envoy at Rome, talked confidently, and with little reſerve, of the acceſſion of that important ally, as a matter certain and decided. The account of this was quickly carried to Philip; and Coſmo, who foreſaw how much it would alarm him, had diſpatched his nephew Ludovico de Toledo into the Netherlands, that he might be at hand to obſerve and take advantage of his conſternation, before the firſt impreſſion which it made ſhould in any degree abate. Coſmo was extremely fortunate in the choice of the inſtrument whom he employed. Toledo waited, with patience, until he diſcovered with certainty, that Philip had received ſuch intelligence of his uncle's negotiations at Rome, as muſt have filled his ſuſpicious mind with fear and jealouſy; and then craving an audience, he required payment of the money which had been borrowed by the emperor, in the moſt earneſt and peremptory terms. In urging that point, he artfully threw out ſeveral dark hints and ambiguous declarations, concerning the extremities to which Coſmo might be driven by a refuſal of this juſt demand, as well as by other grievances of which he had good reaſon to complain.

Philip, aſtoniſhed at an addreſs in ſuch a ſtrain from a prince ſo far his inferior as the duke of Tuſcany, and comparing what he now heard with the information which he had received from Italy, immediately concluded that Coſmo had ventured to aſſume this bold and unuſual tone on the proſpect of his union with France. In order to prevent the pope and Henry from acquiring an ally, who, by his abilities, as well as the ſituation of his dominions, would have added both reputation and ſtrength to their confederacy, he offered to grant Coſmo the inveſtiture of Sienna, if he would

conſent to accept of it as an equivalent for the ſums due to him, and engage to furniſh a body of troops towards the defence of Philip's territories in Italy, againſt any power who ſhould attack them. As ſoon as Coſmo had brought Philip to make this conceſſion, which was the object of all his artifices and intrigues, he did not protract the negotiation by any unneceſſary delay, or any exceſs of refinement, but cloſed eagerly with the propoſal, and Philip, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of his ableſt counſellors, ſigned a treaty with him to that effect†.

As no prince was ever more tenacious of his rights than Philip, or leſs willing to relinquiſh any territory which he poſſeſſed, by what tenure ſoever he held it, theſe unuſual conceſſions to the dukes of Parma and Tuſcany, by which he wantonly gave up countries, in acquiring or defending which his father had employed many years, and waſted much blood and treaſure, cannot be accounted for from any motive, but his ſuperſtitious deſire of extricating himſelf out of the war which he had been forced to wage againſt the pope. By theſe treaties, however, the balance of power among the Italian ſtates was poiſed with greater equality, and rendered leſs variable than it had been ſince it received the firſt violent ſhock from the invaſion of Charles VIII. of France. From this period Italy ceaſed to be the great theatre, on which the monarchs of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for power or for fame. Their diſſenſions and hoſtilities, though as frequent and violent as ever, being excited by new objects, ſtained other regions of Europe with blood, and rendered them miſerable, in their turn, by the devaſtations of war.

The duke of Guiſe left Rome on the ſame day [Sept. 29] that his adverſary the duke of Alva made his humiliating ſubmiſſion to the pope. He was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. His late ill ſucceſs in Italy ſeemed to be forgotten, while his former ſervices, par-

† Thuan. lib. xviii. 624. Herrera, i. 263, 275. Pallav. lib. xiii. 180.

ticularly his defence of Metz, were recounted with exaggerated praiſe; and he was welcomed in every city through which he paſſed, as the reſtorer of public ſecurity, who, after having ſet bounds by his conduct and valour to the victorious arms of Charles V. returned now, at the call of his country, to check the formidable progreſs of Philip's power. The reception which he met with from Henry was no leſs cordial and honourable. New titles were invented, and new dignities created, in order to diſtinguiſh him. He was appointed lieutenant-general in chief both within and without the kingdom, with a juriſdiction almoſt unlimited, and hardly inferior to that which was poſſeſſed by the king himſelf. Thus, through the ſingular felicity which attended the princes of Lorrain, the miſcarriage of their own ſchemes contributed to aggrandize them. The calamities of his country, and the ill-conduct of his rival the conſtable, exalted the duke of Guiſe to a height of dignity and power, which he could not have expected to attain by the moſt fortunate and moſt complete ſucceſs of his own ambitious projects.

The duke of Guiſe, eager to perform ſomething ſuitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, and that he might juſtify the extraordinary confidence which the king had repoſed in him, ordered all the troops, which could be got together, to aſſemble at Compeigne. Though the winter was well advanced, and had ſet in with extreme ſeverity, he placed himſelf at their head, and took the field. By Henry's activity and the zeal of his ſubjects, ſo many ſoldiers had been raiſed in the kingdom, and ſuch conſiderable reinforcements had been drawn from Germany and Swiſſerland, as formed an army reſpectable even in the eyes of a victorious enemy. Philip, alarmed at ſeeing it put in motion at ſuch an uncommon ſeaſon, began to tremble for his new conqueſts, particularly St. Quintin, the fortifications of which were hitherto but imperfectly repaired.

But the duke of Guiſe meditated a more important enterpriſe; and after amuſing the enemy with threatening ſuc-

ceſſively different towns on the frontiers of Flanders, he turned ſuddenly to the left, and inveſted Calais with his whole army [Jan. 1, 1558.] Calais had been taken by the Engliſh under Edward III. and was the fruit of that monarch's glorious victory at Crecy. Being the only place that they retained of their ancient and extenſive territories in France, and which opened to them, at all times, an eaſy and ſecure paſſage into the heart of that kingdom, their keeping poſſeſſion of it ſoothed the pride of the one nation as much as it mortified the vanity of the other. Its ſituation was naturally ſo ſtrong, and its fortifications deemed ſo impregnable, that no monarch of France, how adventurous ſoever, had been bold enough to attack it. Even when the domeſtic ſtrength of England was broken and exhauſted by the bloody wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and its attention entirely diverted from foreign objects, Calais had remained undiſturbed and unthreatened. Mary and her council, compoſed chiefly of eccleſiaſtics, unacquainted with military affairs, and whoſe whole attention was turned towards extirpating hereſy out of the kingdom, had not only neglected to take any precautions for the ſafety of this important place, but ſeemed to think that the reputation of its ſtrength was alone ſufficient for its ſecurity. Full of this opinion, they ventured, even after the declaration of war, to continue a practice which the low ſtate of the queen's finances had introduced in times of peace. As the country adjacent to Calais was overflowed during the winter, and the marſhes around it became impaſſable, except by one avenue, which the forts of St. Agatha and Newnham-bridge commanded, it had been the cuſtom of the Engliſh to diſmiſs the greater part of the garriſon towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the ſpring. In vain did lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, remonſtrate againſt this ill-timed parſimony, and repreſent the poſſibility of his being attacked ſuddenly, while he had not troops ſufficient to man the works. The privy-council treated theſe remonſtrances with

ſcorn, as if they had flowed from the timidity or the rapacioufneſs of the governor; and ſome of them, with that confidence which is the companion of ignorance, boaſted that they would defend Calais with their white rods againſt any enemy who ſhould approach it during winter†. In vain did Philip, who had paſſed through Calais as he returned from England to the Netherlands, warn the queen of the danger to which it was expoſed; and acquainting her with what was neceſſary for its ſecurity, in vain did he offer to reinforce the garriſon during winter with a detachment of his own troops. Mary's counſellors, though obſequious to her in all points wherein religion was concerned, diſtruſted, as much as the reſt of their countrymen, every propoſition that came from her huſband; and ſuſpecting this to be an artifice of Philip's in order to gain the command of the town, they neglected his intelligence, declined his offer, and left Calais with leſs than a fourth part of the garriſon requiſite for its defence.

His knowledge of this encouraged the duke of Guiſe to venture on an enterpriſe, that ſurpriſed his own countrymen no leſs than his enemies. As he knew that its ſucceſs depended on conducting his operations with ſuch rapidity as would afford the Engliſh no time for throwing relief into the town by ſea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land, he puſhed the attack with a degree of vigour little known in carrying on ſieges during that age. He drove the Engliſh from fort St. Agatha, at the firſt aſſault. He obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnhambridge after defending it only three days. He took the caſtle which commanded the harbour by ſtorm; and on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to ſurrender, as his feeble garriſon, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with the fatigue of ſuſtaining ſo many attacks, and defending ſuch extenſive works.

The duke of Guiſe, without allowing the Engliſh time

† Carte, iii. 345.

to recover from the conſternation occaſioned by this blow, immediately inveſted Guiſnes, the garriſon of which, though more numerous, defended itſelf with leſs vigour, and after ſtanding one briſk aſſault, gave up the town. The caſtle of Hames was abandoned by the troops poſted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

Thus, in a few days, during the depth of winter, and at a time when the fatal battle of St. Quintin had ſo depreſſed the ſanguine ſpirit of the French, that their utmoſt aim was to protect their own country, without dreaming of making conqueſts on the enemy, the enterpriſing valour of one man drove the Engliſh out of Calais, after they had held it two hundred and ten years, and deprived them of every foot of land in a kingdom, where their dominions had been once very extenſive. This exploit, at the ſame time that it gave an high idea of the power and reſources of France to all Europe, ſet the duke of Guiſe, in the opinion of his countrymen, far above all the generals of the age. They celebrated his conqueſts with immoderate tranſports of joy; while the Engliſh gave vent to all the paſſions which animate a high-ſpirited people, when any great national calamity is manifeſtly owing to the ill conduct of their rulers. Mary and her miniſters, formerly odious, were now contemptible in their eyes. All the terrors of her ſevere and arbitrary adminiſtration could not reſtrain them from uttering execrations and threats againſt thoſe, who having wantonly involved the nation in a quarrel wherein it was noways intereſted, had by their negligence or incapacity brought irreparable diſgrace on their country, and loſt the moſt valuable poſſeſſion belonging to the Engliſh crown.

The king of France imitated the conduct of its former conqueror, Edward III. with regard to Calais. He commanded all the Engliſh inhabitants to quit the town, and giving their houſes to his own ſubjects, whom he allured to ſettle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garriſon, under an experienced governor, for their

defence. After this, his victorious army was conducted into quarters of refreſhment, and the uſual inaction of winter returned.

During theſe various operations, Ferdinand aſſembled the college of electors at Frankfort [Feb. 24,] in order to lay before them the inſtrument whereby Charles V. had reſigned the Imperial crown, and transferred it to him. This he had hitherto delayed on account of ſome difficulties which had occurred concerning the formalities requiſite in ſupplying a vacancy occaſioned by an event, to which there was no parallel in the annals of the empire. Theſe being at length adjuſted, the prince of Orange executed the commiſſion with which he had been entruſted by Charles; the electors accepted of his reſignation; declared Ferdinand his lawful ſucceſſor; and put him in poſſeſſion of all the enſigns of the Imperial dignity.

But when the new emperor ſent Guſman his chancellor to acquaint the pope with this tranſaction, to teſtify his reverence towards the holy ſee, and to ſignify that, according to form, he would ſoon diſpatch an ambaſſador extraordinary to treat with his holineſs concerning his coronation; Paul, whom neither experience nor diſappointments could teach to bring down his lofty ideas of the papal prerogative to ſuch a moderate ſtandard as ſuited the genius of the times, refuſed to admit the envoy into his preſence, and declared all the proceedings at Frankfort irregular and invalid. He contended that the pope, as the vicegerent of Chriſt, was entruſted with the keys both of ſpiritual and of civil government; that from him the Imperial juriſdiction was derived; that though his predeceſſors had authoriſed the electors to chuſe an emperor whom the holy ſee confirmed, this privilege was confined to thoſe caſes when a vacancy was occaſioned by death; that the inſtrument of Charles's reſignation had been preſented in an improper court, as it belonged to the pope alone to reject or to accept of it, and to nominate a perſon to fill the Imperial throne; that, ſetting aſide

all theſe objections, Ferdinand's election laboured under two defects which alone were ſufficient to render it void, for the proteſtant electors had been admitted to vote, though, by their apoſtacy from the catholic faith, they had forfeited that and every other privilege of the electoral office; and Ferdinand, by ratifying the conceſſions of ſeveral diets in favour of heretics, had rendered himſelf unworthy of the Imperial dignity, which was inſtituted for the protection, not for the deſtruction, of the church. But after thundering out theſe extravagant maxims, he added, with an appearance of condeſcenſion, that if Ferdinand would renounce all title to the Imperial crown, founded on the election at Frankfort, make profeſſions of repentance, for his paſt conduct, and ſupplicate him, with due humility, to confirm Charles's reſignation, as well as his own aſſumption to the empire, he might expect every mark of favour from his paternal clemency and goodneſs. Guſman, though he had foreſeen conſiderable difficulties in his negotiation with the pope, little expected that he would have revived thoſe antiquated and wild pretenſions, which aſtoniſhed him ſo much that he hardly knew in what tone he ought to reply. He prudently declined entering into any controverſy concerning the nature or extent of the papal juriſdiction, and confined himſelf to the political conſiderations, which ſhould determine the pope to recognize an emperor already in poſſeſſion, he endeavoured to place them in ſuch a light, as he imagined could ſcarcely fail to ſtrike Paul, if he were not altogether blind to his own intereſt. Philip ſeconded Guſman's arguments with great earneſtneſs, by an ambaſſador whom he ſent to Rome on purpoſe, and beſought the pope to deſiſt from claims ſo unſeaſonable, as might not only irritate and alarm Ferdinand and the princes of the empire, but furniſh the enemies of the holy ſee with a new reaſon for repreſenting its juriſdiction as incompatible with the rights of princes, and ſubverſive of all civil authority. But Paul, who deemed it a crime to attend to any conſideration ſuggeſted by human prudence or

policy, when he thought himſelf called upon to aſſert the prerogatives of the papal ſee, remained inflexible; and during his pontificate, Ferdinand was not acknowledged as emperor by the court of Rome*.

While Henry was intent upon his preparations for the approaching campaign, he received accounts of the iſſue of his negotiations in Scotland. Long experience having at laſt taught the Scots the imprudence of involving their country in every quarrel between France and England, neither the ſolicitations of the French ambaſſador, nor the addreſs and authority of the queen regent, could prevail on them to take arms againſt a kingdom with which they were at peace. On this occaſion, the ardour of a martial nobility and of a turbulent people was reſtrained by regard for the public intereſt and tranquillity, which in former deliberations of this kind had been ſeldom attended to by a nation always prone to ruſh into every new war. But though the Scots adhered with ſteadineſs to their pacific ſyſtem, they were extremely ready to gratify the French king in another particular which he had given in charge to his ambaſſador.

The young queen of Scots had been affianced to the dauphin in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-eight, and having been educated ſince that time in the court of France, ſhe had grown up to be the moſt amiable, and one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of that age. Henry demanded the conſent of her ſubjects to the celebration of the marriage, and a parliament, which was held for that purpoſe, appointed eight commiſſioners to repreſent the whole body of the nation at that ſolemnity, with power to ſign ſuch deeds as might be requiſite before it was concluded. In ſettling the articles of the marriage, the Scots took every precaution that prudence could dictate, in order to preſerve the liberty and independence of their country; while the French uſed every art to ſecure to the dauphin the conduct of affairs during

* Godleveus de Abdicat. Car. V. ap. Gold. Polit. Imper. 392. Pallav. lib. xiii. 189. Ribier, ii. 746, 759.

the queen's life, and the ſucceſſion of the crown on the event of her demiſe. [April 14] The marriage was celebrated with pomp ſuitable to the dignity of the parties, and the magnificence of a court at that time the moſt ſplendid in Europe†. Thus Henry, in the courſe of a few months, had the glory of recovering an important poſſeſſion which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and of adding to it the acquiſition of a new kingdom. By this event, too, the duke of Guiſe acquired new conſideration and importance; the marriage of his niece to the apparent heir of the crown, raiſing him ſo far above the condition of other ſubjects, that the credit which he had gained by his great actions, ſeemed thereby to be rendered no leſs permanent than it was extenſive.

When the campaign opened ſoon after the dauphin's marriage, the duke of Guiſe was placed at the head of the army, with the ſame unlimited powers as formerly. Henry had received ſuch liberal ſupplies from his ſubjects, that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip, exhauſted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to diſmiſs ſo many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head againſt the enemy. The duke of Guiſe did not loſe the favourable opportunity which his ſuperiority afforded him. He inveſted Thionville in the dutchy of Luxemburg, one of the ſtrongeſt towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France by its neighbourhood to Metz; and, notwithſtanding the obſtinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate [June 22] after a ſiege of three weeks*.

But the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, which it was expected would lead to other conqueſts, was more than counterba-

† Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 73. Append. 13. Corps Diplom v. 21.

* Thuan. lib. xx. 690.

lanced by an event which happened in another part of the Low-Countries. The marechal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without oppoſition, inveſted Dunkirk with an army of fourteen thouſand men, and took it by ſtorm on the fifth day of the ſiege. Hence he advanced towards Nieuport, which muſt have ſoon fallen into his hands, if the approach of the count of Egmont with a ſuperior army had not made it prudent to retreat. The French troops were ſo much encumbered with the booty which they had got at Dunkirk, or by ravaging the open country, that they moved ſlowly; and Egmont, who had left his heavy baggage and artillery behind him, marched with ſuch rapidity, that he came up with them near Gravelines, and attacked them with the utmoſt impetuoſity. De Termes, who had the choice of the ground, having poſted his troops to advantage in the angle formed by the mouth of the river Aa and the ſea, received him with great firmneſs. Victory remained for ſome time in ſuſpence, the deſperate valour of the French, who foreſaw the unavoidable deſtruction that muſt follow upon a rout in an enemy's country, counterbalanced the ſuperior number of the Flemings, when one of thoſe accidents to which human prudence does not extend, decided the conteſt in favour of the latter. A ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips of war, which was cruiſing on the coaſt, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing towards the place of the engagement, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns againſt the right wing of the French, with ſuch effect, as immediately broke that body, and ſpread terror and confuſion through the whole army. The Flemings, to whom aſſiſtance, ſo unexpected, and ſo ſeaſonable, gave freſh ſpirit, redoubled their efforts, that they might not loſe the advantage which fortune had preſented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their conſternation, and the rout of the French ſoon became univerſal. Near two thouſand were killed on the ſpot; a greater number fell by the hands of the peaſants, who, in revenge for the cruelty with

which their country had been plundered, purſued the fugitives, and maſſacred them without mercy; the reſt were taken priſoners, together with De Termes their general, and many officers of diſtinction. *

This ſignal victory, for which the count of Egmont was afterwards ſo ill requited by Philip, obliged the duke of Guiſe to relinquiſh all other ſchemes, and to haſten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy in that province. This diſaſter, however, reflected new luſtre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whoſe arms victory always attended, and in whoſe conduct, as well as good fortune, they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced the duke of Guiſe's army with ſo many troops drawn from the adjacent garriſons, that it ſoon amounted to forty thouſand men. That of the enemy, after the junction of Egmont with the duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number. They encamped at the diſtance of a few leagues from one another; and each monarch having joined his reſpective army, it was expected, after the viciſſitudes of good and bad ſucceſs during this and the former campaign, that a deciſive battle would at laſt determine, which of the rivals ſhould take the aſcendant for the future, and give law to Europe. But though both had it in their power, neither of them diſcovered any inclination to bring the determination of ſuch an important point to depend upon the uncertain iſſue of a ſingle battle. The fatal engagements at St. Quintin and Gravelines were too recent to be ſo ſoon forgotten, and the proſpect of encountering the ſame troops, commanded by the ſame generals who had twice triumphed over his arms, inſpired Henry with a degree of caution which was not common to him. Philip, of a genius averſe to bold operations in war, naturally leaned to cautious meaſures, and was not diſpoſed to hazard any thing againſt a general ſo fortunate and ſucceſsful as the duke of Guiſe.

* Thuan. lib. xx. 694.

Both monarchs, as if by agreement, ſtood on the defenſive, and fortifying their camps carefully, avoided every ſkirmiſh or rencounter that might bring on a general engagement.

While the armies continued in this inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip diſcovered an inclination to liſten to any overture that tended to re-eſtabliſh it. The kingdoms of France and Spain had been engaged during half a century in almoſt continual wars, carried on at great expence, and productive of no conſiderable advantage to either. Exhauſted by extraordinary and unceaſing efforts, which far exceeded thoſe to which the nations of Europe had been accuſtomed before the rivalſhip between Charles V. and Francis I. both nations longed ſo much for an interval of repoſe, in order to recruit their ſtrength, that their ſovereigns drew from them with difficulty the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying on hoſtilities. The private inclinations of both the kings concurred with thoſe of their people. Philip was prompted to wiſh for peace by his fond deſire of returning to Spain. Accuſtomed from his infancy to the climate and manners of that country, he was attached to it with ſuch extreme predelection, that he never felt himſelf at eaſe in any other part of his dominions. But as he could not quit the Low-Countries, either with decency or ſafety, and venture on a voyage to Spain during the continuance of war, the proſpect of a pacification which would put it in his power to execute his favourite ſcheme, was highly acceptable. Henry was no leſs deſirous of being delivered from the burden and occupations of war, that he might have leiſure to turn all his attention, and bend the whole force of his government, towards ſuppreſſing the opinions of the reformers, which were ſpreading with ſuch rapidity in Paris and other great towns of France, that they began to grow formidable to the eſtabliſhed church.

Beſides theſe public and avowed conſiderations ariſing from the ſtate of the two hoſtile kingdoms, or from the wiſhes of their reſpective monarchs, there was a ſecret intrigue

carried on in the court of France, which contributed as much as either of the other, to haſten and to facilitate the negotiation of a peace. The conſtable Montmorency, during his captivity, beheld the rapid ſucceſs and growing favour of the duke of Guiſe with the envy natural to a rival. Every advantage gained by the princes of Lorrain he conſidered as a freſh wound to his own reputation, and he knew with what malevolent addreſs it would be improved to diminiſh his credit with the king, and to augment that of the duke of Guiſe. Theſe arts, he was afraid, might, by degrees, work on the eaſy and ductile mind of Henry, ſo as to efface all remains of his ancient affection towards himſelf. But he could not diſcover any remedy for this, unleſs he were allowed to return home, that he might try whether by his preſence he could defeat the artifices of his enemies, and revive thoſe warm and tender ſentiments which had long attached Henry to him, with a confidence ſo entire, as reſembled rather the cordiality of private friendſhip, than the cold and ſelfiſh connexion between a monarch and one of his courtiers. While Montmorency was forming ſchemes and wiſhes for his return to France with much anxiety of mind, but with little hope of ſucceſs, an unexpected incident prepared the way for it. The cardinal of Lorrain, who had ſhared with his brother in the king's favour, and participated of the power which that conferred, did not bear proſperity with the ſame diſcretion as the duke of Guiſe. Intoxicated with their good fortune, he forgot how much they had been indebted for their preſent elevation to their connexions with the dutcheſs of Valentinois, and vainly aſcribed all to the extraordinary merit of their family. This led him not only to neglect his benefactreſs, but to thwart her ſchemes, and to talk with a ſarcaſtic liberty of her character and perſon. That ſingular woman, who, if we may believe contemporary writers, retained the beauty and charms of youth at the age of threeſcore, and on whom it is certain that Henry ſtill doated with all the fondneſs of love, felt this in-

jury with ſenſibility, and ſet herſelf with eagerneſs to inflict the vengeance which it merited. As there was no method of ſupplanting the princes of Lorrain ſo effectually as by a coalition of intereſts with the conſtable, ſhe propoſed the marriage of her grand-daughter with one of his ſons, as the bond of their future union; and Montmorency readily gave his conſent to the match. Having thus cemented their alliance, the dutcheſs employed all her influence with the king, in order to confirm his inclinations towards peace, and induce him to take the ſteps neceſſary for attaining it. She inſinuated that any overture of that kind would come with great propriety from the conſtable, and if entruſted to the conduct of his prudence, could hardly fail of ſucceſs.

Henry, long accuſtomed to commit all affairs of importance to the management of the conſtable, and needing only this encouragement to return to his ancient habits, wrote to him immediately with his uſual familiarity and affection, empowering him at the ſame time to take the firſt opportunity of ſounding Philip and his miniſters with regard to peace. Montmorency made his application to Philip by the moſt proper channel. He opened himſelf to the duke of Savoy, who, notwithſtanding the high command to which he had been raiſed, and the military glory which he had acquired in the Spaniſh ſervice, was weary of remaining in exile, and languiſhed to return into his paternal dominions. As there was no proſpect of his recovering poſſeſſion of them by force of arms, he conſidered a definitive treaty of peace between France and Spain, as the only event by which he could hope to obtain reſtitution. Being no ſtranger to Philip's private wiſhes with regard to peace, he eaſily prevailed on him not only to diſcover a diſpoſition on his part towards accommodation, but to permit Montmorency to return, on his parole, to France, that he might confirm his own ſovereign in his pacific ſentiments. Henry received the conſtable with the moſt flattering marks of regard; abſence, inſtead of having abated or extinguiſhed the monarch's friend-

ſhip, ſeemed to have given it new ardour. Montmorency, from the moment of his appearance in court, aſſumed, if poſſible, a higher place than ever in his affection, and a more perfect aſcendant over his mind. The cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guiſe prudently gave way to a tide of favour too ſtrong for them to oppoſe, and confining themſelves to their proper departments, permitted, without any ſtruggle, the conſtable and dutcheſs of Valentinois to direct public affairs at their pleaſure. They ſoon prevailed on the king to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. Philip did the ſame. The abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congreſs; and all military operations were immediately terminated by a ſuſpenſion of arms.

While theſe preliminary ſteps were taking towards a treaty which reſtored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V. whoſe ambition had ſo long diſturbed it, ended his days in the monaſtery of St. Juſtus. When Charles entered this retreat, he formed ſuch a plan of life for himſelf, as would have ſuited the condition of a private gentleman of a moderate fortune. His table was neat, but plain; his domeſtics few; his intercourſe with them familiar; all the cumberſome and ceremonious forms of attendance on his perſon were entirely aboliſhed, as deſtructive of that ſocial eaſe and tranquillity which he courted, in order to ſoothe the remainder of his days. As the mildneſs of the climate, together with his deliverance from the burdens and cares of government, procured him, at firſt, a conſiderable remiſſion from the acute pains with which he had been long tormented; he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete ſatisfaction in this humble ſolitude, than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. The ambitious thoughts and projects which had ſo long engroſſed and diſquieted him, were quite effaced from his mind; far from taking any part in the political tranſactions of the princes of Europe, he reſtrained his curioſity even from any inquiry concerning them; and he ſeemed to view the buſy ſcene which he had abandoned with all the contempt and indiff-

rence ariſing from his thorough experience of its vanity, as well as from the pleaſing reflection of having diſentangled himſelf from its cares.

Other amuſements and other objects now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; ſometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horſe, the only one that he kept, attended by a ſingle ſervant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of theſe more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen who reſided near the monaſtery to viſit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himſelf in ſtudying mechanical principles, and in forming curious works of mechaniſm, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the moſt ingenious artiſts of that age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured together with him in framing models of the moſt uſeful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their reſpective powers, and it was not ſeldom that the ideas of the monarch aſſiſted or perfected the inventions of the artiſt. He relieved his mind, at intervals, with ſlighter and more fantaſtic works of mechaniſm, in faſhioning puppets, which, by the ſtructure of internal ſprings, mimicked the geſtures and actions of men, to the aſtoniſhment of the ignorant monks, who beholding movements which they could not comprehend, ſometimes diſtruſted their own ſenſes, and ſometimes ſuſpected Charles and Turriano of being in compact with inviſible powers. He was particularly curious with regard to the conſtruction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is ſaid, with a mixture of ſurpriſe as well as regret, on his own folly, in having beſtowed ſo much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a preciſe uniformity of ſentiment con-

cerning the profound and myſterious doctrines of religion.

But in what manner ſoever Charles diſpoſed of the reſt of his time, he conſtantly reſerved a conſiderable portion of it for religious exerciſes. He regularly attended divine ſervice in the chapel of the monaſtery, every morning and evening; he took great pleaſure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Auguſtin, and St. Bernard; and converſed much with his confeſſor, and the prior of the monaſtery, on pious ſubjects. Thus did Charles paſs the firſt year of his retreat, in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly diſengaged from the affairs of the preſent life, and ſtanding on the confines of a future world; either in innocent amuſements, which ſoothed his pains, and relieved a mind worn out with exceſſive application to buſineſs; or in devout occupations, which he deemed neceſſary in preparing for another ſtate.

But about ſix months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermiſſion than uſual, returned with a proportional increaſe of violence. His ſhattered conſtitution had not vigour enough remaining to withſtand ſuch a ſhock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from this period we hardly diſcern any traces of that ſound and maſculine underſtanding, which diſtinguiſhed Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid ſuperſtition depreſſed his ſpirit. He had no reliſh for amuſements of any kind. He endeavoured to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigour of monaſtic auſterity. He deſired no other ſociety than that of monks, and was almoſt continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the Miſſal. As an expiation for his ſins, he gave himſelf the diſcipline in ſecret with ſuch ſeverity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the inſtrument of his puniſhment, was found after his deceaſe tinged with his blood. Nor was he ſatisfied with theſe acts of mortification, which, however ſevere, were not unexampled. The timorous and diſtruſtful ſolicitude which always accompanies ſuperſtition,

ſtill continued to diſquiet him, and depreciating all the devout exerciſes in which he had hitherto been engaged, prompted him to aim at ſomething extraordinary, at ſome new and ſingular act of piety that would diſplay his zeal, and merit the favour of Heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that ſuperſtition ever ſuggeſted to a weak and diſordered fancy. He reſolved to celebrate his own obſequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monaſtery. His domeſtics marched thither in funeral proceſſion, with black tapers in their hands. He himſelf followed in his ſhroud. He was laid in his coffin with much ſolemnity. The ſervice for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the reſt of his ſoul, mingling his tears with thoſe which his attendants ſhed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony cloſed with ſprinkling holy water on the coffin in the uſual form, and all the aſſiſtants retiring, the doors of the chapel were ſhut. Then Charles roſe out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment, full of thoſe awful ſentiments which ſuch a ſingular ſolemnity was calculated to inſpire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impreſſion which this image of death left on his mind, affected him ſo much, that next day he was ſeized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long reſiſt its violence, and he expired on the twenty-firſt of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, ſix months, and twenty-five days*.

As Charles was the firſt prince of the age in rank and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we conſider the greatneſs, the variety, or the ſucceſs of his undertakings, was the moſt conſpicuous. It is from an attentive obſervation of his conduct, not from the exaggerated praiſes of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, or the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure of the French, that a juſt idea of Charles's genius and abilities is to

* Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. p. 11. Thuan. 723. Sandov. ii. 609, &c. Miniana Contin. Marianæ, vol. iv. 216. Vera y Zuniga Vida de Carlos, p. 111.

be collected. He poſſeſſed qualities ſo peculiar, that they ſtrongly mark his character, and not only diſtinguiſh him from the princes who were his contemporaries, but account for that ſuperiority over them which he ſo long maintained. In forming his ſchemes, he was, by nature, as well as by habit, cautious and conſiderate. Born with talents which unfolded themſelves ſlowly, and were late in attaining to maturity, he was accuſtomed to ponder every ſubject that demanded his conſideration, with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a ſerious application, undiverted by pleaſure, and hardly relaxed by any amuſement, he revolved it, in ſilence, in his own breaſt. He then communicated the matter to his miniſters, and after hearing their opinions, took his reſolution with a deciſive firmneſs, which ſeldom follows ſuch ſlow and ſeemingly heſitating conſultations. Of conſequence, Charles's meaſures, inſtead of reſembling the deſultory and irregular ſallies of Henry VIII. or Francis I. had the appearance of a conſiſtent ſyſtem, in which all the parts were arranged, all the effects were foreſeen, and even every accident was provided for. His promptitude in execution was no leſs remarkable than his patience in deliberation. He did not diſcover greater ſagacity in his choice of the meaſures which it was proper to purſue, than fertility of genius in finding out the means for rendering his purſuit of them ſucceſsful. Though he had naturally ſo little of the martial turn, that during the moſt ardent and buſtling period of life, he remained in the cabinet inactive, yet when he choſe at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was ſo formed for vigorous exertions in every direction, that he acquired ſuch knowledge in the art of war, and ſuch talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and ſucceſs to the moſt able generals of the age. But Charles poſſeſſed in the moſt eminent degree, the ſcience which is of the greateſt importance to a monarch, that of knowing men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments

which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field, no miniſter in the cabinet, no ambaſſador to a foreign court, no governor of a province, whoſe abilities were inadequate to the truſt which he repoſed in them. Though deſtitute of that bewitching affability of manners, which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his perſon, he was no ſtranger to the virtues which ſecure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their ſervices with munificence; he neither envied their fame, nor diſcovered any jealouſy of their power. Almoſt all the generals who conducted his armies, may be placed on a level with thoſe illuſtrious perſonages who have attained the higheſt eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be aſcribed ſo manifeſtly to the ſuperior abilities of the commanders whom he ſet in oppoſition to them, that this might ſeem to detract, in ſome degree, from his own merit, if the talent of diſcovering, and ſteadineſs in employing ſuch inſtruments were not the moſt undoubted proofs of a capacity for government.

There were, nevertheleſs, defects in his political character which muſt conſiderably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's ambition was inſatiable; and though there ſeems to be no foundation for an opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of eſtabliſhing an univerſal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his deſire of being diſtinguiſhed as a conqueror involved him in continual wars, which not only exhauſted and oppreſſed his ſubjects, but left him little leiſure for giving attention to the interior police and improvement of his kingdoms, the great objects of every prince who makes the happineſs of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the Imperial crown to the kingdoms of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the houſes of Auſtria and Burgundy, this opened to him ſuch a vaſt field of enterpriſe, and engaged him in

ſchemes ſo complicated as well as arduous, that feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of them, he had often recourſe to low artifices, unbecoming his ſuperior talents, and ſometimes ventured on ſuch deviations from integrity, as were diſhonourable in a great prince. His inſidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conſpicuous, and was rendered more odious by a compariſon with the open and undeſigning character of his contemporaries Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occaſioned chiefly by the diverſity of their tempers, muſt be aſcribed in ſome degree, to ſuch an oppoſition in the principles of their political conduct as affords ſome excuſe for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot ſerve as a juſtification of it. Francis and Henry ſeldom acted but from the impulſe of their paſſions, and ruſhed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's meaſures, being the reſult of cool reflection, were diſpoſed into a regular ſyſtem, and carried on upon a concerted plan. Perſons who act in the former manner, naturally purſue the end in view, without aſſuming any diſguiſe, or diſplaying much addreſs. Such as hold the latter courſe, are apt, in forming, as well as in executing their deſigns, to employ ſuch refinements as always lead to artifice in conduct, and often degenerate into deceit.

The circumſtances tranſmitted to us, with reſpect to Charles's private deportment and character, are fewer and leſs intereſting, than might have been expected from the great number of authors who have undertaken to write an account of his life. Theſe are not the object of this hiſtory, which aims more at repreſenting the great tranſactions of the reign of Charles V. and pointing out the manner in which they affected the political ſtate of Europe, than at delineating his private virtues or defects.

The plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and England, continued their conferences at Cercamp; and though each of them, with the uſual art of negotiators, made at firſt very high demands in the name of their reſpective courts,

yet as they were all equally desirous of peace, they would have consented reciprocally to such abatements and restrictions of their claims, as must have removed every obstacle to an accommodation. The death of Charles V. was a new motive with Philip to hasten the conclusion of a treaty, as it increased his impatience for returning into Spain, where there was now no person greater or more illustrious than himself. But in spite of the concurring wishes of all the parties interested, an event happened which occasioned an unavoidable delay in their negotiations. About a month after the opening of the conferences at Cercamp, Mary of England ended her short and inglorious reign [Nov. 17], and Elizabeth, her sister, was immediately proclaimed queen with universal joy. As the powers of the English plenipotentiaries expired on the death of their mistress, they could not proceed until they received a commission and instructions from their new sovereign

Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation to the throne with equal solicitude. As during Mary's jealous administration, under the most difficult circumstances, and in a situation extremely delicate, that princess had conducted herself with prudence and address far exceeding her years, they had conceived an high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different from that of her sister. Equally sensible of the importance of gaining her favour, both monarchs set themselves with emulation to court it, and employed every art in order to insinuate themselves into her confidence. Each of them had something meritorious, with regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat in his dominions, if the dread of her sister's violence should force her to fly for safety out of England. Philip, by his powerful intercession, had prevented Mary from proceeding to the most fatal extremities against her sister. Each of them endeavoured now to avail himself of the circumstances in his favour. Henry wrote to Elizabeth soon after her accession, with the

warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude and friendſhip. He repreſented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her huſband, and fond compliance with all his wiſhes. He entreated her to diſengage herſelf from an alliance which had proved ſo unfortunate to England, and to conſent to a ſeparate peace with him, without mingling her intereſts with thoſe of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to loſe his connection with England, the importance of which, during a rupture with France, he had ſo recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of eſteem for Elizabeth, and in profeſſions of his reſolution to cultivate the ſtricteſt amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himſelf to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a diſpenſation from the pope for that purpoſe.

Elizabeth weighed the propoſals of the two monarchs attentively, and with that provident diſcernment of her true intereſt, which was conſpicuous in all her deliberations. She gave ſome encouragement to Henry's overture of a ſeparate negotiation, becauſe it opened a channel of correſpondence with France, which ſhe might find to be of great advantage, if Philip ſhould not diſcover ſufficient zeal and ſolicitude for ſecuring to her proper terms in the joint treaty. But ſhe ventured on this ſtep with the moſt cautious reſerve, that ſhe might not alarm Philip's ſuſpicious temper; and loſe an ally in attempting to gain an enemy †. Henry himſelf by an unpardonable act of indiſcretion, prevented her from carrying her intercourſe with him to ſuch a length as might have offended or alienated Philip. At the very time when he was courting Elizabeth's friendſhip with the greateſt aſſiduity, he yielded with an inconſiderate facility to the ſolicitations of the princes of Lorrain, and allowed his daughter-in-law the queen of Scots to aſſume the title and arms of queen of

† Forbes, i. p. 4.

England. This ill-timed pretenſion, the ſource of many calamities to the unfortunate queen of Scots, extinguiſhed at once all the confidence that might have grown between Henry and Elizabeth, and left in its place diſtruſt, reſentment, and antipathy. Elizabeth ſoon found that ſhe muſt unite her intereſts cloſely with Philip's, and expect peace only from negotiations carried on in conjunction with him ‡.

As ſhe had granted a commiſſion, immediately after her acceſſion, to the ſame plenipotentiaries whom her ſiſter had employed, ſhe now inſtructed them to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take no ſtep until they had previouſly conſulted with them *. But though ſhe deemed it prudent to aſſume this appearance of confidence in the Spaniſh monarch, ſhe knew preciſely how far to carry it; and diſcovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary propoſal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The Engliſh had expreſſed ſo openly their deteſtation of her ſiſter's choice of him, that it would have been highly imprudent to have exaſperated them by renewing that odious alliance. She was too well acquainted with Philip's harſh imperious temper, to think of him for a huſband. Nor could ſhe admit a diſpenſation from the pope to be ſufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catharine of Aragon, and acknowledging of conſequence that her mother's marriage was null, and her own birth illegitimate. But though ſhe determined not to yield to Philip's addreſſes, the ſituation of her affairs, rendered it dangerous to reject them; ſhe returned her anſwer, therefore, in terms which were evaſive, but ſo tempered with reſpect, that though they gave him no reaſon to be ſecure of ſucceſs, they did not altogether extinguiſh his hopes.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which ſhe

‡ Strype's Annals of the Reformation, i. 11. Carte's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 375.

* Forbes's Full View, i. p. 37. 40.

concealed her ſentiments and intentions concerning religion, for ſome time after her acceſſion, ſhe ſo far gained upon Philip, that he warmly eſpouſed her intereſt in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp, and afterwards removed to Cateau-Cambreſis [Feb. 6, 1559.] A definitive treaty, which was to adjuſt the claims and pretenſions of ſo many princes, required the examination of ſuch a variety of intricate points, and led to ſuch infinite and minute details, as drew out the negotiations to a great length. But the conſtable Montmorency exerted himſelf with ſuch indefatigable zeal and induſtry, repairing alternately to the courts of Paris and Bruſſels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, that all points in diſpute were adjuſted at length in ſuch a manner, as to give entire ſatisfaction in every particular to Henry and Philip; and the laſt hand was ready to be put to the treaty between them.

The claims of England remained as the only obſtacle to retard it. Elizabeth demanded the reſtitution of Calais in the moſt peremptory tone, as an eſſential condition of her conſenting to peace; Henry refuſed to give up that important conqueſt; and both ſeemed to have taken their reſolution with unalterable firmneſs. Philip warmly ſupported Elizabeth's pretenſions to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the Engliſh nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had loſt by eſpouſing his cauſe; nor ſolely with a view of ſoothing Elizabeth by this manifeſtation of zeal for her intereſt; but in order to render France leſs formidable, by ſecuring to her ancient enemy this eaſy acceſs into the heart of the kingdom. The earneſtneſs, however, with which he ſeconded the arguments of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, ſoon began to relax. During the courſe of the negotiation, Elizabeth, who now felt herſelf firmly ſeated on her throne, began to take ſuch open and vigorous meaſures not only for overturning all that her ſiſter had done in favour of popery, but for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip

that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now deſperate. From that period, his interpoſitions in her favour became more cold and formal, flowing merely from a regard to decorum, or from the conſideration of remote political intereſts. Elizabeth, having reaſon to expect ſuch an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But as nothing would have been of greater detriment to her people, or more inconſiſtent with her ſchemes of domeſtic adminiſtration, than the continuance of war, ſhe ſaw the neceſſity of ſubmitting to ſuch conditions as the ſituation of her affairs impoſed, and that ſhe muſt reckon upon being deſerted by an ally who was now united to her by a very feeble tie, if ſhe did not ſpeedily reduce her demands to what was moderate and attainable. She accordingly gave new inſtructions to her ambaſſadors; and Philip's plenipotentiaries acting as mediators beween the French and them*, an expedient was fallen upon which, in ſome degree, juſtified Elizabeth's departing from the rigour of her firſt demand with regard to Calais. All leſſer articles were ſettled without much diſcuſſion or delay. Philip, that he might not appear to have abandoned the Engliſh, inſiſted that the treaty between Henry and Elizabeth ſhould be concluded in form, before that between the French monarch and himſelf. The one was ſigned on the ſecond day of April, the other on the day following.

The treaty of peace between France and England contained no articles of real importance, but that which reſpected Calais. It was ſtipulated, That the king of France ſhould retain poſſeſſion of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years; That at the expiration of that term, he ſhould reſtore it to England; That in caſe of nonperformance, he ſhould forfeit five hundred thouſand crowns, for payment of which ſum, ſeven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his ſubjects, ſhould grant ſecurity; That five perſons of diſtinction ſhould be given as hoſtages

* Forbes, i. 59.

until that ſecurity were provided; That, although the forfeit of five hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid, the right of England to Calais ſhould ſtill remain entire, in the ſame manner as if the term of eight years were expired; That the king and queen of Scotland ſhould be included in the treaty; That if they, or the French king, ſhould violate the peace by any hoſtile action, Henry ſhould be obliged inſtantly to reſtore Calais; That on the other hand, if any breach of the treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry and the king and queen of Scots were abſolved from all the engagements which they had come under by this treaty.

Notwithſtanding the ſtudied attention with which ſo many precautions were taken, it is evident that Henry did not intend the reſtitution of Calais, nor is it probable that Elizabeth expected it. It was hardly poſſible that ſhe could maintain, during the courſe of eight years, ſuch perfect concord both with France and Scotland, as not to afford Henry ſome pretext for alledging that ſhe had violated the treaty. But even if that term ſhould elapſe without any ground for complaint, Henry might then chuſe to pay the ſum ſtipulated, and Elizabeth had no method of aſſerting her right but by force of arms. However, by throwing the articles in the treaty with regard to Calais into this form, Elizabeth ſatisfied her ſubjects of every denomination; ſhe gave men of diſcernment a ſtriking proof of her addreſs, in palliating what ſhe could not prevent; and amuſing the multitude, to whom the ceſſion of ſuch an important place would have appeared altogether infamous, with the proſpect of recovering in a ſhort time that favourite poſſeſſion.

The expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the concluſion of peace between France and Spain, was the negotiating two treaties of marriage, one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, and Philip, who ſupplanted his ſon, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that princeſs had been promiſed in the former conferences at Cercamp; the other between Margaret, Henry's

only ſiſter, and the duke of Savoy. For however feeble the ties of blood may often be among princes, or how little ſoever they may regard them when puſhed on to act by motives of ambition, they aſſume on other occaſions the appearance of being ſo far influenced by theſe domeſtic affections, as to employ them to juſtify meaſures and conceſſions which they find to be neceſſary, but know to be impolitic or diſhonourable. Such was the uſe Henry made of the two marriages to which he gave his conſent. Having ſecured an honourable eſtabliſhment for his ſiſter and his daughter, he, in conſideration of theſe, granted terms both to Philip and the duke of Savoy, of which he would not, on any other account, have ventured to approve.

The principal articles in the treaty between France and Spain were, That ſincere and perpetual amity ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the two crowns and their reſpective allies; That the two monarchs ſhould labour in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progreſs of hereſy, and reſtore unity and concord to the Chriſtian church; That all conqueſts made by either party, on this ſide of the Alps, ſince the commencement of the war in one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one, ſhould be mutually reſtored; That the dutchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the country of Breſſe, and all the other territories formerly ſubject to the dukes of Savoy, ſhould be reſtored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France, the towns of Turin, Quiers, Pignerol, Chivaz, and Villanova excepted, of which Henry ſhould keep poſſeſſion until his claims to theſe places, in right of his grandmother, ſhould be tried and decided in courſe of law; That as long as Henry retained theſe places in his hands, Philip ſhould be at liberty to keep garriſons in the towns of Varcelli and Aſti; That the French king ſhould immediately evacuate all the places which he held in Tuſcany and the Sienneſe, and renounce all future pretenſions to them; That he ſhould reſtore the

marquiſate of Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; That he ſhould receive the Genoeſe into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the iſland of Corſica; That none of the princes or ſtates, to whom theſe ceſſions were made, ſhould call their ſubjects to account for any part of their conduct while under the dominion of their enemies, but ſhould bury all paſt tranſactions in oblivion. The pope, the emperor, the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal, the king and queen of Scots, and almoſt every prince and ſtate in Chriſtendom, were comprehended in this pacification as the allies either of Henry or of Philip†.

Thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-eſtabliſhed in Europe. All the cauſes of diſcord which had ſo long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, which had tranſmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip, and from Francis to Henry, ſeemed to be wholly removed, or finally terminated. The French alone complained of the unequal conditions of a treaty, into which an ambitious miniſter, in order to recover his liberty, and an artful miſtreſs, that ſhe might gratify her reſentment, had ſeduced their too eaſy monarch. They exclaimed loudly againſt the folly of giving up to the enemies of France an hundred and eighty-nine fortified places, in the Low-Countries or in Italy, in return for the three inſignificant towns of St. Quintin, Ham, and Catelet. They conſidered it as an indelible ſtain upon the glory of the nation, to renounce in one day territories ſo extenſive, and ſo capable of being defended, that the enemy could not have hoped to wreſt them out of their hands, after many years of victory.

But Henry, without regarding the ſentiments of his people, or being moved by the remonſtrances of his council, ratified the treaty, and executed with great fidelity whatever he had ſtipulated to perform. The duke of Savoy repaired with a numerous retinue to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's ſiſter. The duke of Alva was ſent

† Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 287.

to the ſame capital, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, to eſpouſe Elizabeth in the name of his maſter. They were received with extraordinary magnificence by the French court. Amidſt the rejoicings and feſtivities on that occaſion, Henry's days were cut ſhort by a ſingular and tragical accident [July 10.] His ſon, Francis II. a prince under age, of a weak conſtitution, and of a mind ſtill more feeble, ſucceeded him. Soon after, Paul ended his violent and imperious pontificate, at enmity with all the world, and diſguſted even with his own nephews. They, perſecuted by Philip, and deſerted by the ſucceeding pope, whom they had raiſed by their influence to the papal throne, were condemned to the puniſhment which their crimes and ambition had merited, and their death was as infamous as their lives had been criminal. Thus moſt of the perſonages, who had long ſuſtained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe, diſappeared about the ſame time. A more known period of hiſtory opens at this æra; other actors enter upon the ſtage, with different views, as well as different paſſions; new conteſts aroſe, and new ſchemes of ambition occupied and diſquieted mankind.

Upon reviewing the tranſactions of any active period, in the hiſtory of civiliſed nations, the changes which are accompliſhed appear wonderfully diſproportioned to the efforts which have been exerted. Conqueſts are never very extenſive or rapid, but among nations whoſe progreſs in improvement is extremely unequal. When Alexander the Great, at the head of a gallant people, of ſimple manners, and formed to war by admirable military inſtitutions, invaded a ſtate ſunk in luxury, and enervated by exceſſive refinement; when Ghenchizcan and Tamerlane, with their armies of hardy barbarians, poured in upon nations, enfeebled by the climate in which they lived, or by the arts and commerce which they cultivated, theſe conquerors, like a torrent, ſwept every thing before them, ſubduing kingdoms and provinces in as ſhort a ſpace of time as was requiſite to march through them. But

when nations are in a ſtate ſimilar to each other, and keep equal pace in their advances towards refinement, they are not expoſed to the calamity of ſudden conqueſts. Their acquiſitions of knowledge, their progreſs in the art of war, their political ſagacity and addreſs, are nearly equal. The fate of ſtates in this ſituation, depends not on a ſingle battle. Their internal reſources are many and various. Nor are they themſelves alone intereſted in their own ſafety, or active in their own defence. Other ſtates interpoſe, and balance any temporary advantage which either party may have acquired. After the fierceſt and moſt lengthened conteſt, all the rival nations are exhauſted, none are conquered. At length they find it neceſſary to conclude a peace, which reſtores to each almoſt the ſame power and the ſame territories of which they were formerly in poſſeſſion.

Such was the ſtate of Europe during the reign of Charles V. No prince was ſo much ſuperior to the reſt in power, as to render his efforts irreſiſtible, and his conqueſts eaſy. No nation had made progreſs in improvement ſo far beyond its neighbours, as to have acquired a very manifeſt pre-eminence. Each ſtate derived ſome advantage, or was ſubject to ſome inconvenience from its ſituation or its climate; each was diſtinguiſhed by ſomething peculiar in the genius of its people, or the conſtitution of its government. But the advantages poſſeſſed by one ſtate, were counterbalanced by circumſtances favourable to others; and this prevented any from attaining ſuch ſuperiority as might have been fatal to all. The nations of Europe in that age, as in the preſent, were like one great family; there were ſome features common to all, which fixed a reſemblance; there were certain peculiarities conſpicuous in each, which marked a diſtinction. But there was not among them that wide diverſity of character and of genius which, in almoſt every period of hiſtory, hath exalted the Europeans above the inhabitants of the other quarters of the globe, and ſeems to have deſtined the one to rule, and the other to obey.

But though the near reſemblance and equality in improvement among the different nations of Europe prevented the reign of Charles V. from being diſtinguiſhed by ſuch ſudden and extenſive conqueſts as occur in ſome other periods of hiſtory, yet, during the courſe of his adminiſtration, all the conſiderable ſtates in Europe ſuffered a remarkable change in their political ſituation, and felt the influence of events, which have not hitherto ſpent their force, but ſtill continue to operate in a greater or in a leſs degree. It was during his reign, and in conſequence of the perpetual efforts to which his enterpriſing ambition rouſed him, that the different kingdoms of Europe acquired internal vigour; that they diſcerned the reſources of which they were poſſeſſed; that they came both to feel their own ſtrength, and to know how to make it formidable to others. It was during his reign, too, that the different kingdoms of Europe, which in former times ſeemed frequently to act as if they had been ſingle and disjoined, became ſo thoroughly acquainted, and ſo intimately connected with each other, as to form one great political ſyſtem, in which each took a ſtation, wherein it has remained ſince that time with leſs variation than could have been expected after the events of two active centuries,

The progreſs, however, and acquiſitions of the houſe of Auſtria, were not only greater than thoſe of any other power, but more diſcernable and conſpicuous. I have already enumerated the extenſive territories which deſcended to Charles from his Auſtrian, Burgundian, and Spaniſh anceſtors *. To theſe he himſelf added the Imperial dignity; and, as if all this had been too little, the bounds of the habitable globe ſeemed to be extended, and a new world was ſubjected to his command. Upon his reſignation, the Burgundian provinces, and the Spaniſh kingdoms with their dependencies, both in the old and new worlds, devolved to Philip. But Charles tranſmitted his dominions to his ſon, in a condition very different from that in which he himſelf had

* Vol. II. p. 1.

received them. They were augmented by the acceſſion of new provinces; they were habituated to obey an adminiſtration no leſs vigorous than ſteady; they were accuſtomed to expenſive and perſevering efforts, which, though neceſſary in the conteſts between civilized nations, had been little known in Europe before the ſixteenth century. The provinces of Frieſland, Utrecht, and Overyſſel, which he acquired by purchaſe from their former proprietors, and the dutchy of Gueldres, of which he made himſelf maſter, partly by force of arms, partly by the arts of negotiation, were additions of great value to his Burgundian dominions. Ferdinand and Iſabella tranſmitted to him all the provinces of Spain, from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal; but as he maintained a perpetual peace with that kingdom, amidſt the various efforts of his enterpriſing ambition, he made no acquiſition of territory in that quarter.

Charles had gained, however, a vaſt acceſſion of power in this part of his dominions. By his ſucceſs in the war with the commons of Caſtile, he exalted the regal prerogative upon the ruins of the privileges which formerly belonged to the people. Though he allowed the name of the Cortes to remain, and the formality of holding it to be continued; he reduced its authority and juriſdiction almoſt to nothing, and modelled it in ſuch a manner, that it became rather a junto of the ſervants of the crown, than an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people. One member of the conſtitution being thus lopped off, it was impoſſible but that the other muſt feel the ſtroke, and ſuffer by it. The ſuppreſſion of the popular power rendered the ariſtocratical leſs formidable. The grandees, prompted by the warlike ſpirit of the age, or allured by the honours which they enjoyed in a court, exhauſted their fortunes in military ſervice, or in attending on the perſon of their prince. They did not dread, perhaps did not obſerve, the dangerous progreſs of the royal authority, which, leaving them the vain diſtinction of being covered in preſence of their ſovereign, ſtripped them, by degrees,

of that real power which they poſſeſſed while they formed one body, and acted in concert with the people. Charles's ſucceſs in aboliſhing the privileges of the commons, and in breaking the power of the nobles of Caſtile, encouraged Philip to invade the liberties of Aragon, which were ſtill more extenſive. The Caſtilians, accuſtomed to ſubjection themſelves, aſſiſted in impoſing the yoke on their more happy and independent neighbours. The will of the ſovereign became the ſupreme law in all the kingdoms of Spain; and princes who were not checked in forming their plans by the jealouſy of the people, nor controlled in executing them by the power of the nobles, could both aim at great objects, and call forth the whole ſtrength of the monarchy in order to attain them.

As Charles, by extending the royal prerogative, rendered the monarchs of Spain maſters at home, he added new dignity and power to their crown by his foreign acquiſitions. He ſecured to Spain the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, which Ferdinand had uſurped by fraud, and held with difficulty. He united the dutchy of Milan, one of the moſt fertile and populous Italian provinces, to the Spaniſh crown; and left his ſucceſſors, even without taking their other territories into the account, the moſt conſiderable princes in Italy, which had been long the theatre of contention to the great powers of Europe, and in which they had ſtruggled with emulation to obtain the ſuperiority. When the French, in conformity to the treaty of Chateau-Cambreſis, withdrew their forces out of Italy, and finally relinquiſhed all their ſchemes of conqueſt on that ſide of the Alps, the Spaniſh dominions then roſe in importance, and enabled their kings, as long as the monarchy retained any degree of vigour, to preſerve the chief ſway in all the tranſactions of that country. But whatever acceſſion, either of interior authority or of foreign dominion, Charles gained for the monarchs of Spain in Europe, was inconſiderable when compared with his acquiſitions in the new world. He add-

ed there, not provinces, but empires to his crown. He conquered territories of ſuch immenſe extent; he diſcovered ſuch inexhauſtible veins of wealth, and opened ſuch boundleſs proſpects of every kind, as muſt have rouſed his ſucceſſor, and have called him forth to action, though his ambition had been much leſs ardent than that of Philip, and muſt have rendered him not only enterpriſing but formidable.

While the elder branch of the Auſtrian family roſe to ſuch pre-eminence in Spain, the younger, of which Ferdinand was the head, grew to be conſiderable in Germany; the ancient hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, united to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, which Ferdinand had acquired by marriage, formed a reſpectable power; and when the Imperial dignity was added to theſe, Ferdinand poſſeſſed territories more extenſive than had belonged to any prince, Charles V. excepted, who had been at the head of the empire for ſeveral ages. Fortunately for Europe, the diſguſt which Philip conceived on account of Ferdinand's refuſing to relinquiſh the Imperial crown in his favour, not only prevented for ſome time the ſeparate members of the houſe of Auſtria from acting in concert, but occaſioned between them a viſible alienation and rivalſhip. By degrees, however, regard to the intereſt of their family extinguiſhed this impolitical animoſity. The confidence which was natural returned; the aggrandizing of the houſe of Auſtria became the common object of all their ſchemes; they gave and received aſſiſtance alternately towards the execution of them; and each derived conſideration and importance from the other's ſucceſs. A family ſo great and ſo aſpiring, became the general object of jealouſy and terror. All the power, as well as policy, of Europe were exerted during a century, in order to check and humble it. Nothing can give a more ſtriking idea of the aſcendant which it had acquired, and of the terror which it had inſpired, than that after its vigour was ſpent with

extraordinary exertions of its ſtrength, after Spain was become only the ſhadow of a great name, and its monarchs were ſunk into debility and dotage, the houſe of Auſtria ſtill continued to be formidable. The nations of Europe had ſo often felt its ſuperior power, and had been ſo conſtantly employed in guarding againſt it, that the dread of it became a kind of political habit, the influence of which remained when the cauſes which had formed it ceaſed to exiſt.

While the houſe of Auſtria went on with ſuch ſucceſs in enlarging its dominions, France made no conſiderable acquiſition of new territory. All its ſchemes of conqueſt in Italy had proved abortive; it had hitherto obtained no eſtabliſhment of conſequence in the new world; and after the continued and vigorous efforts of four ſucceſſive reigns, the confines of the kingdom were much the ſame as Louis XI. had left them. But though France made not ſuch large ſtrides towards dominion as the houſe of Auſtria, it continued to advance by ſteps which were more ſecure, becauſe they were gradual and leſs obſerved. The conqueſt of Calais put it out of the power of the Engliſh to invade France but at their utmoſt peril, and delivered the French from the dread of their ancient enemies, who, previous to that event, could at any time penetrate into the kingdom by that avenue, and thereby retard or defeat the execution of their beſt concerted enterpriſes againſt any foreign power. The important acquiſition of Metz covered that part of their frontier which formerly was moſt feeble, and lay moſt expoſed to inſult. France, from the time of its obtaining theſe additional ſecurities againſt external invaſion, muſt be deemed the moſt powerful kingdom in Europe, and is more fortunately ſituated than any on the continent either for conqueſt or defence. From the confines of Artois to the bottom of the Pyrenees, and from the Britiſh channel to the frontiers of Savoy and the coaſt of the Mediterranean, its territories lay compact and unmingled with thoſe of any other power.

Several of the conſiderable provinces, which had contracted a ſpirit of independence by their having been long ſubject to the great vaſſals of the crown, who were often at variance or at war with their maſter, were now accuſtomed to recognize and to obey one ſovereign. As they became members of the ſame monarchy, they aſſumed the ſentiments of that body into which they were incorporated, and co-operated with zeal towards promoting its intereſt and honour. The power and influence wreſted from the nobles were ſeized by the crown. The people were not admitted to ſhare in theſe ſpoils; they gained no new privilege; they acquired no additional weight in the legiſlature. It was not for the ſake of the people, but in order to extend their own prerogative, that the monarchs of France had laboured to humble their great vaſſals. Satisfied with having brought them under entire ſubjection to the crown, they diſcovered no ſolicitude to free the people from their ancient dependence on the nobles whom they held, and by whom they were often oppreſſed.

A monarch, at the head of a kingdom thus united at home and ſecure from abroad, was entitled to form great deſigns, becauſe he felt himſelf in a condition to execute them. The foreign wars which had continued with little interruption from the acceſſion of Charles VIII. had not only cheriſhed and augmented the martial genius of the nation, but by inuring the troops during the courſe of long ſervice to the fatigues of war, and accuſtoming them to obedience, had added the force of diſcipline to their natural ardour. A gallant and active body of nobles, who conſidered themſelves as idle and uſeleſs, unleſs when they were in the field; who were hardly acquainted with any paſtime or exerciſe but what was military; and who knew no road to power, or fame, or wealth, but war, would not have ſuffered their ſovereign to remain long in inaction. The people, little acquainted with the arts of peace, and always ready to take arms at the command of their ſuperiors, were accuſtomed, by the expence of

long wars carried on in diſtant countries, to bear impoſitions, which, however inconſiderable they may ſeem if eſtimated by the exorbitant rate of modern exactions, appear immenſe when compared with the ſums levied in France, or in any other country of Europe, previous to the reign of Louis XI. As all the members of which the ſtate was compoſed were thus impatient for action, and capable of great efforts, the ſchemes and operations of France muſt have been no leſs formidable to Europe than thoſe of Spain. The ſuperior advantages of its ſituation, the contiguity and compactneſs of its territories, together with the peculiar ſtate of its political conſtitution at that juncture, muſt have rendered its enterpriſes ſtill more alarming and more deciſive. The king poſſeſſed ſuch a degree of power as gave him the entire command of his ſubjects; the people were ſtrangers to thoſe occupations and habits of life which render men averſe to war, or unfit for it; and the nobles though reduced to the ſubordination neceſſary in a regular government, ſtill retained the high undaunted ſpirit which was the effect of their ancient independence. The vigour of the feudal times remained, their anarchy was at an end; and the kings of France could avail themſelves of the martial ardour which that ſingular inſtitution had kindled or kept alive, without being expoſed to any of the dangers or inconveniencies which are inſeparable from it when in entire force.

A kingdom in ſuch a ſtate is, perhaps, capable of greater military efforts than at any other period in its progreſs. But how formidable or how fatal ſoever to the other nations of Europe the power of ſuch a monarchy might have been, the civil wars which broke out in France ſaved them at that juncture from feeling its effects. Theſe wars, of which religion was the pretext and ambition the cauſe, wherein great abilities were diſplayed by the leaders of the different factions, and little conduct or firmneſs were manifeſted by the crown under a ſucceſſion of weak princes, kept France occupied and embroiled for half a century. During theſe com-

motions the internal ſtrength of the kingdom was much waſted, and ſuch a ſpirit of anarchy was ſpread among the nobles, to whom rebellion was familiar, and the reſtraint of laws unknown, that a conſiderable interval became requiſite not only for recruiting the internal vigour of the nation, but for re-eſtabliſhing the authority of the prince; ſo that it was long before France could turn her whole attention towards foreign tranſactions, or act with her proper force in foreign wars. It was long before ſhe roſe to that aſcendant in Europe which ſhe has maintained ſince the adminiſtration of cardinal Richlieu, and which the ſituation as well as extent of the kingdom, the nature of her government, together with the character of her people, entitle her to maintain.

While the kingdoms on the continent grew into power and conſequence, England likewiſe made conſiderable progreſs towards regular government and interior ſtrength. Henry VIII. probably without intention, and certainly without any conſiſtent plan, of which his nature was incapable, purſued the ſcheme of depreſſing the nobility, which the policy of his father Henry VII. had begun. The pride and caprice of his temper led him to employ chiefly new men in the adminiſtration of affairs, becauſe he found them moſt obſequious, or leaſt ſcrupulous; and he not only conferred on them ſuch plenitude of power, but exalted them to ſuch pre-eminence in dignity, as mortified and degraded the ancient nobility. By the alienation or ſale of the church lands, which were diſſipated with a profuſion not inferior to the rapacioufneſs with which they had been ſeized, as well as by the privilege granted to the ancient landholders of ſelling their eſtates, or diſpoſing of them by will, an immenſe property, formerly locked up, was brought into circulation. This put the ſpirit of induſtry and commerce in motion, and gave it ſome conſiderable degree of vigour. The road to power and to opulence became open to perſons of every condition. A ſudden and exceſſive flow of wealth from the Weſt Indies proved fatal to induſtry in Spain; a moderate

acceſſion in England to the ſum in circulation gave life to commerce, awakened the ingenuity of the nation, and excited it to uſeful enterpriſe. In France, what the nobles loſt the crown gained. In England, the commons were gainers as well as the king. Power and influence accompanied of courſe the property which they acquired. They roſe to conſideration among their fellow-ſubjects; they began to feel their own importance; and extending their influence in the legiſlative body gradually, and often when neither they themſelves nor others foreſaw all the effects of their claims and pretenſions, they at laſt attained that high authority to which the Britiſh conſtitution is indebted for the exiſtence, and muſt owe the preſervation, of its liberty. At the ſame time that the Engliſh conſtitution advanced towards perfection, ſeveral circumſtances brought on a change in the ancient ſyſtem with reſpect to foreign powers, and introduced another more beneficial to the nation. As ſoon as Henry diſclaimed the ſupremacy of the papal ſee, and broke off all connexion with the papal court, conſiderable ſums were ſaved to the nation, of which it had been annually drained by remittances to Rome for diſpenſations and indulgences, by the expence of pilgrimages into foreign countries†, or by payment of annates, firſt fruits, and a thouſand other taxes which that artful and rapacious court levied on the credulity of mankind. The exerciſe of a juriſdiction different from that of the civil power, and claiming not only to be independent of it, but ſuperior to it, a wild ſoleciſm in government, apt not only to perplex and diſquiet weak minds, but tending directly to diſturb ſociety, was finally aboliſhed. Government became more ſimple as well as more

† The loſs which the nation ſuſtained by moſt of theſe articles is obvious, and muſt have been great. Even that by pilgrimages was not inconſiderable. In the year 1428, licence was obtained by no fewer than 916 perſons to viſit the ſhrine of St. James of Compoſtella in Spain. Rymer, vol. x. p. . In 1434, the number of pilgrims to the ſame place was 246c. Ibid. p. . In 1445, they were 210c, vol. xi. p. .

reſpectable, when no rank or character exempted any perſon from being amenable to the ſame courts as other ſubjects, from being tried by the ſame judges, and from being acquitted or condemned by the ſame laws.

By the loſs of Calais the Engliſh were excluded from the continent. All ſchemes for invading France became of courſe as chimerical as they had formerly been pernicious. The views of the Engliſh were confined, firſt by neceſſity, and afterwards from choice, within their own iſland. That rage for conqueſt which had poſſeſſed the nation during many centuries, and waſted its ſtrength in perpetual and fruitleſs wars, ceaſed at length. Thoſe active ſpirits which had known and followed no profeſſion but war, fought for occupation in the arts of peace, and their country was benefited as much by the one as it had ſuffered by the other. The nation, which had been exhauſted by frequent expeditions to the continent, recruited its numbers, and acquired new ſtrength; and when roufed by any extraordinary exigency to take part in foreign operations, the vigour of its efforts was proportionally great, becauſe they were only occaſional and of a ſhort continuance.

The ſame principle which had led England to adopt this new ſyſtem with regard to the powers on the continent, occaſioned a change in its plan of conduct with reſpect to Scotland, the only foreign ſtate with which, on account of its ſituation in the ſame iſland, the Engliſh had ſuch a cloſe connexion as demanded their perpetual attention. Inſtead of proſecuting the ancient ſcheme of conquering that kingdom, which the nature of the country, defended by a brave and hardy people, rendered dangerous if not impracticable; it appeared more eligible to endeavour at obtaining ſuch influence in Scotland as might exempt England from any danger or diſquiet from that quarter. The national poverty of the Scots, together with the violence and animoſity of their factions, rendered the execution of this plan eaſy to a people far ſuperior to them in wealth. The leading men of great-

eſt power and popularity were gained; the miniſters and favourites of the crown were corrupted; and ſuch abſolute direction of the Scottiſh councils was acquired, as rendered the operations of the one kingdom dependent, in a great meaſure, on the ſovereign of the other. Such perfect external ſecurity, added to the interior advantages which England now poſſeſſed, muſt ſoon have raiſed it to new conſideration and importance; the long reign of Elizabeth, equally conſpicuous for wiſdom, for ſteadineſs, and for vigour, accelerated its progreſs, and carried it with greater rapidity towards that elevated ſtation which it hath ſince held among the powers of Europe.

During the period in which the political ſtate of the great kingdoms underwent ſuch changes, revolutions of conſiderable importance happened in that of the ſecondary or inferior powers. Thoſe in the papal court are moſt obvious, and of moſt extenſive conſequence.

In the Preliminary Book, I have mentioned the riſe of that ſpiritual juriſdiction which the popes claim as vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, and have traced the progreſs of that authority which they poſſeſs as temporal princes†. Previous to the reign of Charles V. there was nothing that tended to circumſcribe or to moderate their authority, but ſcience and philoſophy, which began to revive and be cultivated. The progreſs of theſe, however, was ſtill inconſiderable; they always operate ſlowly; and it is long before their influence reaches the people, or can produce any ſenſible effect upon them. They may perhaps gradually, and in a long courſe of years, undermine and ſhake an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of falſe religion, but there is no inſtance of their having overturned one. The battery is too feeble to demoliſh thoſe fabrics which ſuperſtition raiſes on deep foundations, and can ſtrengthen with the moſt conſummate art.

Luther had attacked the papal ſupremacy with other weapons, and with an impetuoſity more formidable. The time

† Vol. I. p. 114, &c.

and manner of his attack concurred with a multitude of circumſtances, which have been explained, in giving him immediate ſucceſs. The charm which had bound mankind for ſo many ages was broken at once. The human mind, which had continued long as tame and paſſive as if it had been formed to believe whatever was taught, and to bear whatever was impoſed, rouſed of a ſudden and became inquiſitive, mutinous, and diſdainful of the yoke to which it had hitherto ſubmitted. That wonderful ferment and agitation of mind, which, at this diſtance of time, appears unaccountable, or is condemned as extravagant, was ſo general, that it muſt have been excited by cauſes which were natural and of powerful efficacy. The kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, England, and Scotland, and almoſt one-half of Germany, threw off their allegiance to the pope, aboliſhed his juriſdiction within their territories, and gave the ſanction of law to modes of diſcipline and ſyſtems of doctrine which were not only independent of his power, but hoſtile to it. Nor was this ſpirit of innovation confined to thoſe countries which openly revolted from the pope; it ſpread through all Europe, and broke out in every part of it with various degrees of violence. It penetrated early into France, and made a quick progreſs there. In that kingdom, the number of converts to the opinions of the reformers was ſo great, their zeal ſo enterpriſing, and the abilities of their leaders ſo diſtinguiſhed, that they ſoon ventured to contend for ſuperiority with the eſtabliſhed church, and were ſometimes on the point of obtaining it. In all the provinces of Germany which continued to acknowledge the papal ſupremacy, as well as in the Low-Countries, the proteſtant doctrines were ſecretly taught, and had gained ſo many proſelytes, that they were ripe for revolt, and were reſtrained merely by the dread of their rulers from imitating the example of their neighbours, and aſſerting their independence. Even in Spain and Italy, ſymptoms to ſhake off the yoke appeared. The pretenſions of the pope to infallible knowledge and ſupreme power were

treated by many perſons of eminent learning and abilities with ſuch ſcorn, or attacked with ſuch vehemence, that the moſt vigilant attention of the civil magiſtrate, the higheſt ſtrains of pontifical authority, and all the rigour of inquiſitorial juriſdiction were requiſite to check and extinguiſh it.

The defection of ſo many opulent and powerful kingdoms from the papal ſee, was a fatal blow to its grandeur and power. It abridged the dominions of the popes in extent, it diminiſhed their revenues, and left them fewer rewards to beſtow on the eccleſiaſtics of various denominations, attached to them by vows of obedience as well as by ties of intereſt, and whom they employed as inſtruments to eſtabliſh or ſupport their uſurpations in every part of Europe. The countries too which now diſclaimed their authority, were thoſe which formerly had been moſt devoted to it. The empire of ſuperſtition differs from every other ſpecies of dominion; its power is often greateſt and moſt implicitly obeyed in the provinces moſt remote from the ſeat of government; while ſuch as are ſituated nearer to that are more apt to diſcern the artifices by which it is upheld, or the impoſtures on which it is founded. The perſonal frailties or vices of the popes, the errors as well as corruption of their adminiſtration, the ambition, venality, and deceit which reigned in their courts, fell immediately under the obſervation of the Italians, and could not fail of diminiſhing that reſpect which begets ſubmiſſion. But in Germany, England, and the more remote parts of Europe, theſe were either altogether unknown, or being only known by report, made a ſlighter impreſſion. Veneration for the papal dignity increaſed accordingly in theſe countries in proportion to their diſtance from Rome; and that veneration, added to their groſs ignorance, rendered them equally credulous and paſſive. In tracing the progreſs of the papal domination, the boldeſt and moſt ſucceſsful inſtances of encroachment are to be found in Germany and other countries diſtant from Italy. In theſe its impoſitions were heavieſt and

its exactions the moſt rapacious; ſo that in eſtimating the diminution of power which the court of Rome ſuffered in conſequence of the reformation, not only the number but the character of the people who revolted, not only the great extent of territory, but the extraordinary obſequiouſneſs of the ſubjects which it loſt, muſt be taken into the account.

Nor was it only by this defection of ſo many kingdoms and ſtates which the reformation occaſioned, that it contributed to diminiſh the power of the Roman pontiffs. It obliged them to adopt a different ſyſtem of conduct towards the nations which ſtill continued to recogniſe their juriſdiction, and to govern them by new maxims and with a milder ſpirit. The reformation taught them, by a fatal example, what they ſeem not before to have apprehended, that the credulity and patience of mankind might be overburdened and exhauſted. They became afraid of venturing upon any ſuch exertion of their authority as might alarm or exaſperate their ſubjects, and excite them to a new revolt. They ſaw a rival church eſtabliſhed in many countries of Europe, the members of which were on the watch to obſerve any errors in their adminiſtration, and eager to expoſe them. They were ſenſible that the opinions, adverſe to their power and uſurpations, were not adopted by their enemies alone, but had ſpread even among the people who ſtill adhered to them. Upon all theſe accounts, it was no longer poſſible to lead or to govern their flock in the ſame manner as in thoſe dark and quiet ages when faith was implicit, when ſubmiſſion was unreſerved, and all tamely followed and obeyed the voice of their paſtor. From the æra of the reformation, the popes have ruled rather by addreſs and management than by authority. Though the ſtyle of their decrees be ſtill the ſame, the effect of them is very different. Thoſe bulls and interdicts which, before the reformation, made the greateſt princes tremble, have ſince that period been diſregarded or deſpiſed by the moſt inconſiderable. Thoſe bold deciſions

and acts of juriſdiction which, during many ages, not only paſſed uncenſured, but were revered as the awards of a ſacred tribunal, would, ſince Luther's appearance, be treated by one part of Europe as the effect of folly or arrogance, and be deteſted by the other as impious and unjuſt. The popes, in their adminiſtration, have been obliged not only to accommodate themſelves to the notions of their adherents, but to pay ſome regard to the prejudices of their enemies. They ſeldom venture to claim new powers, or even to inſiſt obſtinately on their ancient prerogatives, leſt they ſhould irritate the former; they carefully avoid every meaſure that may either excite the indignation or draw on them the deriſion of the latter. The policy of the court of Rome has become as cautious, circumſpect, and timid, as it was once adventurous and violent; and though their pretenſions to infallibility, on which all their authority is founded, does not allow them to renounce any juriſdiction, which they have at any time claimed or exerciſed, they find it expedient to ſuffer many of their prerogatives to lie dormant, and not to expoſe themſelves to the riſk of loſing that remainder of power which they ſtill enjoy, by ill-timed attempts towards reviving obſolete pretenſions. Before the ſixteenth century, the popes were the movers and directors in every conſiderable enterpriſe; they were at the head of every great alliance; and being conſidered as arbiters in the affairs of Chriſtendom, the court of Rome was the centre of political negotiation and intrigue. Since that time, the greateſt operations in Europe have been carried on independent of them; they have ſunk almoſt to a level with the other petty princes of Italy; they continue to claim, though they dare not exerciſe, the ſame ſpiritual juriſdiction, but hardly retain any ſhadow of the temporal power which they anciently poſſeſſed.

But how fatal ſoever the reformation may have been to the power of the popes, it has contributed to improve the church of Rome both in ſcience and in morals. The deſire

of equalling the reformers in thoſe talents which had procured them reſpect; the neceſſity of acquiring the knowledge requiſite for defending their own tenets; or refuting the arguments of their opponents, together with the emulation natural between two rival churches, engaged the Roman catholic clergy to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of uſeful ſcience, which they cultivated with ſuch aſſiduity and ſucceſs, that they have gradually become as eminent in literature, as they were in ſome periods infamous for ignorance. The ſame principle occaſioned a change no leſs conſiderable in the morals of the Romiſh clergy. Various cauſes which have formerly been enumerated, had concurred in introducing great irregularity, and even diſſolution of manners, among the popiſh clergy. Luther and his adherents began their attack on the church with ſuch vehement invectives againſt theſe, that, in order to remove the ſcandal, and ſilence their declamations, greater decency of conduct became neceſſary. The reformers themſelves were ſo eminent not only for the purity but even auſterity of their manners, and had acquired ſuch reputation among the people on that account, that the Roman catholic clergy muſt have ſoon loſt all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform in ſome meaſure to their ſtandard. They knew that all their actions fell under the ſevere inſpection of the proteſtants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to obſerve every vice, or even impropriety in their conduct; to cenſure them without indulgence, and expoſe them without mercy. This rendered them, of courſe, not only cautious to avoid ſuch enormities as might give offence, but ſtudious to acquire the virtues which might merit praiſe. In Spain and Portugal, where the tyrannical juriſdiction of the inquiſition cruſhed the proteſtant faith as ſoon as it appeared, the ſpirit of popery continues invariable; ſcience has made ſmall progreſs, and the character of eccleſiaſtics has undergone little change. But in thoſe countries where the members of the two churches have mingled freely with each other, or have

carried on any conſiderable intercourſe, either commercial or literary, an extraordinary alteration in the ideas, as well as in the morals of the popiſh eccleſiaſtics, is manifeſt. In France, the manners of the dignitaries and ſecular clergy have become decent and exemplary in an high degree. Many of them have been diſtinguiſhed for all the accompliſhments and virtues which can adorn their profeſſion; and differ greatly from their predeceſſors before the reformation, both in their maxims and in their conduct.

Nor has the influence of the reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Roman catholic church; it has extended to the ſee of Rome, to the ſovereign pontiffs themſelves. Violations of decorum, and even treſpaſſes againſt morality, which paſſed without cenſure in thoſe ages, when neither the power of popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character, had any bounds; when there was no hoſtile eye to obſerve the errors in their conduct, and no adverſaries zealous to inveigh againſt them; would be liable now to the ſevereſt animadverſion, and excite general indignation or horror. Inſtead of rivalling the courts of temporal princes in gaiety, and ſurpaſſing them in licentiouſneſs, the popes have ſtudied to aſſume manners more ſevere and more ſuitable to their eccleſiaſtical character. The chair of St. Peter hath not been polluted during two centuries, by any pontiff that reſembled Alexander VI. or ſeveral of his predeceſſors, who were a diſgrace to religion and to human nature. Throughout this long ſucceſſion of popes, a wonderful decorum of conduct, compared with that of preceding ages, is obſervable. Many of them, eſpecially among the pontiffs of the preſent century, have been conſpicuous for all the virtues becoming their high ſtation; and by their humanity, their love of literature, and their moderation, have made ſome atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predeceſſors. Thus the beneficial influences of the reformation have been more extenſive than they appear on a ſuperficial view; and this great diviſion in the Chriſtian

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The republic of Venice, which, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, had appeared ſo formidable, that almoſt all the potentates of Europe united in a confederacy for its deſtruction, declined gradually from its ancient power and ſplendor. The Venetians not only loſt a great part of their territory in the war excited by the league of Cambray, but the revenues as well as vigour of the ſtate were exhauſted by their extraordinary and long-continued efforts in their own defence; and that commerce by which they had acquired their wealth and power began to decay, without any hopes of its reviving. All the fatal conſequences to their republic which the ſagacity of the Venetian ſenate foreſaw on the firſt diſcovery of a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, actually took place. Their endeavours to prevent the Portugueſe, from eſtabliſhing themſelves in the Eaſt Indies, not only by exciting the Soldans of Egypt, and the Ottoman monarchs, to turn their arms againſt ſuch dangerous intruders, but by affording ſecret aid to the infidels in order to inſure their ſucceſs †, proved ineffectual. The activity and valour of the Portugueſe ſurmounted every obſtacle, and obtained ſuch a firm footing in that fertile country, as ſecured to them large poſſeſſions, together with an influence ſtill more extenſive. Liſbon, inſtead of Venice, became the ſtaple for the precious commodities of the Eaſt. The Venetians, after having poſſeſſed for many years, the monopoly of that beneficial commerce, had the mortification to be excluded from almoſt any ſhare in it. The diſcoveries of the Spaniards in the Weſtern world proved no leſs fatal to inferior branches of their commerce. The original defects which were for-

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merly pointed out in the conſtitution of the Venetian republic ſtill continued, and the diſadvantages with which it undertook any great enterpriſe increaſed, rather than diminiſhed. The ſources from which it derived its extraordinary riches and power being dried up, the interior vigour of the ſtate declined, and, of courſe, its external operations became leſs formidable. Long before the middle of the ſixteenth century, Venice ceaſed to be one of the principal powers in Europe, and dwindled into a ſecondary and ſubaltern ſtate. But as the ſenate had the addreſs to conceal the diminution of its power, under the veil of moderation and caution; as it made no raſh effort that could diſcover its weakneſs; as the ſymptoms of political decay in ſtates are not ſoon obſerved, and are ſeldom ſo apparent to their neighbours as to occaſion any ſudden alteration in their conduct towards them, Venice continued long to be conſidered and reſpected. She was treated not according to her preſent condition, but according to the rank which ſhe had formerly held. Charles V. as well as the kings of France his rivals, courted her aſſiſtance with emulation and ſolicitude in all their enterpriſes. Even down to the cloſe of the century, Venice remained not only an object of attention, but a conſiderable ſeat of political negotiation and intrigue.

That authority which the firſt Coſmo di Medici, and Lawrence, his grandſon, had acquired in the republic of Florence, by their beneficence and abilities, inſpired their deſcendants with the ambition of uſurping the ſovereignty in their country, and paved their way towards it. Charles V. placed Alexander di Medici at the head of the republic [A. D. 1550,] and to the natural intereſt and power of the family added the weight as well as credit of the Imperial protection. Of theſe, his ſucceſſor Coſmo, ſurnamed the Great, availed himſelf; and eſtabliſhing his ſupreme authority on the ruins of the ancient republican conſtitution, he tranſmitted that, together with the title of grand duke of Tuſcany, to his deſcendants. Their dominions were com-

poſed of the territories which had belonged to the three commonwealths of Florence, Piſa, and Sienna, and formed one of the moſt reſpectable of the Italian ſtates.

The dukes of Savoy, during the former part of the ſixteenth century, poſſeſſed territories which were not conſiderable either for extent or value; and the French, having ſeized the greater part of them, obliged the reigning duke to retire for ſafety to the ſtrong fortreſs of Nice, where he ſhut himſelf up for ſeveral years, while his ſon, the prince of Piedmont, endeavoured to better his fortune, by ſerving as an adventurer in the armies of Spain. The peace of Cateau-Cambreſis reſtored to him his paternal dominions. As theſe are environed on every hand by powerful neighbours, all whoſe motions the dukes of Savoy muſt obſerve with the greateſt attention, in order not only to guard againſt the danger of being ſurpriſed and overpowered, but that they may chuſe their ſide with diſcernment in thoſe quarrels wherein it is impoſſible for them to avoid taking part, this peculiarity in their ſituation ſeems to have had no inconſiderable influence on their character. By rouſing them to perpetual attention, by keeping their ingenuity always on the ſtretch, and engaging them in almoſt continual action, it hath formed a race of princes more ſagacious in diſcovering their true intereſt, more deciſive in their reſolutions, and more dexterous in availing themſelves of every occurrence which preſented itſelf, than any perhaps that can be ſingled out in the hiſtory of Europe. By gradual acquiſitions the dukes of Savoy have added to their territories, as well as to their own importance; and aſpiring at length to regal dignity, which they obtained about half a century ago, by the title of kings of Sardinia, they hold now no inconſiderable rank among the monarchs of Europe.

The territories which form the republic of the United Netherlands were loſt during the firſt part of the ſixteenth century, among the numerous provinces ſubject to the houſe of Auſtria; and were then ſo inconſiderable, that hardly one

opportunity of mentioning them hath occurred in all the buſy period of this hiſtory. But ſoon after the peace of Cateau-Cambreſis, the violent and bigoted maxims of Philip's government, being carried into execution with unrelenting rigour by the duke of Alva, exaſperated the free people of the Low Countries to ſuch a degree, that they threw off the Spaniſh yoke, and aſſerted their ancient liberties and laws. Theſe they defended with a perſevering valour, which gave employment to the arms of Spain during half a century, exhauſted the vigour, ruined the reputation of that monarchy, and at laſt conſtrained their ancient maſters to recogniſe and to treat with them as a free independent ſtate. This ſtate, founded on liberty, and reared by induſtry and economy, grew into great reputation, even while ſtruggling for its exiſtence. But when peace and ſecurity allowed it to enlarge its views, and to extend its commerce, it roſe to be one of the moſt reſpectable as well as enterpriſing powers in Europe.

The tranſactions of the kingdoms in the North of Europe have been ſeldom attended to in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Ruſſia remained buried in that barbariſm and obſcurity, from which it was called about the beginning of the preſent century, by the creative genius of Peter the Great, who made his country known and formidable to the reſt of Europe.

In Denmark and Sweden, during the reign of Charles V. great revolutions happened in their conſtitutions, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical. In the former kingdom, a tyrant being degraded from the throne, and expelled the country, a new prince was called by the voice of the people to aſſume the reins of government. In the latter, a fierce people rouſed to arms by injuries and oppreſſion, ſhook off the Daniſh yoke, and conferred the regal dignity on its deliverer Guſtavus Ericſon, who had all the virtues of a hero and of a patriot. Denmark, exhauſted by foreign wars, or weakened by the diſſenſions between the

king and the nobles, became incapable of ſuch efforts as were requiſite in order to recover the aſcendant which it had long poſſeſſed in the North of Europe. Sweden, as ſoon as it was freed from the dominion of ſtrangers, began to recruit its ſtrength, and acquired in a ſhort time ſuch internal vigour, that it became the firſt kingdom in the North. Early in the ſubſequent century, it roſe to ſuch a high rank among the powers of Europe, that it had the chief merit in forming, as well as conducting, that powerful league, which protected not only the proteſtant religion, but the liberties of Germany, againſt the bigotry and ambition of the houſe of Auſtria.

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Z.

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